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The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Textual Heritage:
Philological Perspectives on
Authenticity and Audience Design

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The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Textual Heritage:
Philological Perspectives on
Authenticity and Audience Design

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. J.H.J.M. van Krieken,
volgens besluit van het college van decanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen op woensdag 20 december 2017
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door

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The first steps of this project were actually done more than 25 years ago. I thank Pieter especially for the opportunities he gave me at that moment to explore my talents in the NEHOL-project and the edition of *Die Creol Taal*, and for this PhD project to show our work on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was not finished. I thank Jan for his continued motivation for me to stay in the field of history of Dutch linguistics, and to keep on reading about linguistic subjects and on publishing, even when my teaching job lead me far away from it.

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Contents

<i>0. Abbreviations and symbols</i>	ix
0.1 Abbreviations	ix
0.2 Symbols	ix
0.2.1 Additions	ix
0.2.2 Omissions	x
0.2.3 Replacements	x
0.2.4 Uncertain readings	x
0.2.5 Other metaphoric notations	x
0.3 References	x
0.4 List of illustrations	xi

I. Introduction

<i>1. The challenge of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources</i>	1
1.1 A sketch of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole	1
1.2 A brief sketch of the history of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and its documentation	4
1.3 A digital corpus and how to use it	6
1.4 Questions about missionary linguistics	10
1.5 Questions about the use of Dutch	12
1.6 A question about language use of the enslaved inhabitants	14
1.7 A question about the development over time of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole	14
1.8 Summary	15

II. Methodology and starting points

<i>2. Encoding diplomatic editions of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts</i>	21
2.1 Building the NEHOL corpus: some first considerations	21
2.2 Corpus based research: the use of diplomatic glosses	23
2.2.1 Additions	25
2.2.2 Omissions	29
2.2.3 Replacements	31

ii Preliminary pages

2.2.4 Lexical changes	32
2.2.5 Alternatives	32
2.2.6 Uncertain readings	36
2.2.7 Changes in word order	37
2.2.8 Metagraphic comments	38
2.3 A few first conclusions	39
3. <i>Demography and language</i>	41
3.1 Where do the Flemish/Zeelandic linguistic elements in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole come from?	41
3.2 Demographic evidence	47
3.2.1 Studies about the first stages of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole	47
3.2.2 The census of 1691	50
3.3 Origin of the colonists	52
3.3.1 Nations in the census	52
3.3.2 A closer look at the origin of the European families	53
3.3.3 Surnames as a signpost	54
3.4 Geographical spread across St. Thomas	57
3.5 The composition of the families	59
3.5.1 A global view	59
3.5.2 Multicultural/cross-national families	60
3.6 Other variables	62
3.6.1 Age	62
3.6.2 Founder effects	63
3.6.3 Education	63
3.7 Final remarks: Dutch as a koine/lingua franca?	64
4. <i>Uncertainty and changes in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts</i>	67
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 The earliest texts: slave letters	70
4.2.1 The first letters	72
4.2.2 The Zinzendorf letters	76
4.2.3 From first steps into a tradition (1740 and 1741)	80
4.2.4 Start of a new generation of writers (1752)	81

4.3 Uncertainties and audience design	82
5. <i>Metalinguistic comments</i>	85
5.1 Introduction.....	85
5.2 Dutch as the language of the Danish Antilles.....	86
5.3 Moravian Brethren about language of the Danish Antilles	90
5.4 Reports about Dutch and Dutch Creole as important missionary language	91
5.5 Reports about Creole as missionary language in missionary texts	95
5.5.1 Comments in letters and acts	95
5.5.2 Comments in Oldendorp's history and dictionary	103
5.5.3 Comments in translated texts	108
6. <i>Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles</i>	113
6.1 Audience design and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole	113
6.2 Missionaries and the example of Surinam.....	117
6.3 The theory of Audience Design	120
6.4 Audience Design: Moravian Brethren on the Danish Antilles	124
6.4.1 Referee design.....	124
6.4.2 Addressee design.....	128
6.4.3 Auditor design.....	130
6.4.4 Overhearer design.....	131
6.4.5 Eavesdropper design.....	133
6.4.6 Overview.....	134
6.5 Audience Design in the Danish Antilles according to Oldendorp	136
6.6 Conclusion: authenticity and the Audience Design Model	137
7. <i>The writing process: distinguishing two types of corrections</i>	139
7.1 Introduction.....	139
7.2 Stages of the writing process	140
7.2.1 Reading the original text.....	141
7.2.2 Remembering the original text.....	141
7.2.3 Reflecting on the text.....	143
7.2.4 Dictating to oneself	145
7.2.5 The actual writing.....	146

iv Preliminary pages

7.3 Correcting mistakes and the process of writing	146
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III. Case studies: eighteenth century corpus Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts

8. <i>Vertical presentation of alternatives</i>	149
8.1 Introduction.....	149
8.2 Method: corpus and philological approach	150
8.2.1 Synonyms and alternative constructions	150
8.2.2 The corpus and methods used	152
8.3 Results	154
8.3.1 Overall results	154
8.3.2 Orthography	155
8.3.3 Lexicon and prepositions	156
8.3.4 ‘Na’ as shibboleth for genuine Creole.....	157
8.4 Discussion.....	160
8.4.1 Frequent forms as a signpost for audience design?.....	160
8.4.2 Collocations	163
8.5 Final remarks	163
9. <i>Word order and numbers</i>	165
9.1 Introduction.....	165
9.2 An example	166
9.3 Method.....	167
9.4 Word order: prescriptive and descriptive	168
9.4.1 Oldendorp’s opinion.....	168
9.4.2 The Moravian Grammar	170
9.5 Results	173
9.5.1 Initial remarks	173
9.5.2 Categories of changes	174
9.5.3 Addressee and auditor design: verb-related change	175
9.5.4 Addressee and auditor design: other changes	181
9.5.5 Referee design-related word order change	183
9.6 Final remarks	185
9.7 Appearances in Virgin Island Dutch Creole texts.....	186

<i>10. Replacements</i>	189
10.1 Introduction.....	189
10.2 An example: sketch of correction of a text	189
10.3 Method.....	195
10.3.1 Improving the language variety by replacement	195
10.4 Results	196
10.4.1 Numbers and percentages	196
10.4.2 Replacement by overwriting	198
10.4.3 Replacement by glossing	204
10.4.4 The use of German- and English-related words or translations	206
10.5 Overview and discussion	210
 <i>11. Studying variants of texts to discover connection with the audience</i>	213
11.1 Introduction and pilot study.....	213
11.2 Method.....	219
11.2.1 Which texts to compare?.....	219
11.2.2 Three case studies.....	224
11.3 Results	225
11.3.1 Variation in <i>O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden</i>	225
11.3.2 Variation in <i>O! Planterman</i>	226
11.3.3 Variation in Gospel Harmony, section 13	227
11.4 Discussion.....	227
 <i>12. Additions</i>	229
12.1 Introduction.....	229
12.2 Method.....	230
12.3 Results	231
12.3.1 Addition in source text, without brackets	231
12.3.2 Addition in source text, with brackets	232
12.3.3 Obvious mistakes, without brackets	233
12.3.4 Possible mistakes, without brackets	234
12.3.5 Examples of auditor design.....	234

vi Preliminary pages

12.3.6 Examples of referee design	237
12.4 Comparison of the four manuscripts	239
12.5 Discussion	243

IV. Twentieth century sources

<i>13. Frank G. Nelson's Virgin Islands Dutch Creole wordlists</i>	251
13.1 Introduction	251
13.1.1 Real Virgin Islands Dutch Creole	251
13.1.2 Twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts	252
13.2 Introduction to the correspondence	255
13.3 The quest	256
13.4 Start of the correspondence	257
13.5 The letter of 24 October 1993: typescript of field notes 1936	262
13.6 Correspondence between Nelson and Van Rossem 1996-1997	266
13.7 Preparation for the publication of the wordlists 1999	267
13.8 Nelson's informants	269
13.8.1 Henrietta Francis	271
13.8.2 Henrietta Anton	272
13.8.3 Victoria Mossentau	272
13.8.4 Rebecca Francis	272
13.8.5 Jeremiah Hatchet and Mary Francis	272
13.8.6 Margaret Tadman	273
13.8.7 Isabella Sylvester	273
13.9 Significance of wordlists for further research	273
13.10 List of mentioned letters, in chronological order	274
 <i>14. The diplomatic edition of Frank Nelson's wordlists</i>	 277
14.1 Edition and annotation	277
14.1.1 Information about texts and sources	277
14.1.2 Language use and orthography	278
14.1.3 Codes and abbreviations	278
14.2 The Reinecke list: the wordlist from the Creole Collection of John E. Reinecke	279
14.3 The Nelson list: the wordlist from letter Nelson (October 24, 1993)	292

14.4 Photo copy of field notes 1936 from letter Nelson (July 18, 1996).....	317
<i>15. The diary of De Josselin de Jong</i>	319
15.1 Introduction: J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong	319
15.2 The diary itself	320
15.3 Contacts and fieldwork	321
15.4 Implications for study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole	328
<i>16. Twentieth century field notes in the context of audience design</i>	333
16.1 Introduction.....	333
16.2 Nelson and audience design	334
16.3 De Josselin de Jong and audience design	337
V. Conclusions and references	
<i>17. Final remarks</i>	343
17.1 Introduction.....	343
17.2 Philological techniques to study authenticity	344
17.3 Audience design and metalinguistic evidence for authenticity.....	346
17.4 Original research questions and issues for further research	348
<i>18. Primary texts</i>	353
<i>19. References</i>	359
<i>20. Appendices</i>	371
20.ch3 Appendices chapter 3: <i>Demography and language</i>	371
20.ch3.1 Oldendorp (2000) about Dutch and Dutch Creole.....	371
20.ch3.2 Internet sites family names.....	372
20.ch3.3 Name list of the first European inhabitants of St. Thomas (1678)	372
20.ch5 Appendices chapter 5: <i>Metalinguistic comments</i>	375
20.ch5.1 Use of Dutch in the Danish Antilles	375
20.ch5.2 Metalinguistic comments J. Böhner.....	377
20.ch5.3 Metalinguistic comments J.M. Magens	379

viii Preliminary pages

20.ch5.4 Metalinguistic comments Visitationsbericht (1784).....	380
20.ch5.5 Metalinguistic comments from 5.5.1	382
20.ch8 Appendices chapter 8: <i>Vertical presentation of alternatives</i>	387
20.ch8.1 Appearances of vertical presentations	387
20.ch8.2 All alternative prepositions, including <i>na</i>	388
20.ch11 Appendices chapter 11: <i>Studying variants of texts to discover connection with audience</i>	394
20.ch11.1 O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.....	394
20.ch11.2 O! Planterman.....	402
20.ch11.3 Gospel Harmony, section 13	409
Nederlandse samenvatting.....	419
Curriculum Vitae	425

0. Abbreviations and symbols

Everywhere *he*, *him* or *his* was used to refer to people in general, you can also read *she* or *her*.

0.1 Abbreviations

2PL	second person plural
3SG	third person singular
3PL	third person plural
BE	form of ‘to be’
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DUR	durative marker
FEM	feminine
FOR	‘in order to’, ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘because’ (see Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XVII)
FUT	future tense
NA	general locative marker <i>na</i> , for instance ‘to’, ‘at’ (see Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XVII-XVII)
NEG	negation
PM	politeness-marked
PST	past tense
PRF	perfective aspect
RA	Rigsarkivet (State Archives), Copenhagen, Denmark
RND	<i>Reeks Nederlandsche Dialectatlassen</i> (see 19. <i>References</i>)
UA	Unitätsarchiv (Moravian Archives), Herrnhut, Germany
UBL	Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (University Library Leyden), The Netherlands
DKB	Det Kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library), Copenhagen, Denmark

Languages:

Da.	Danish
Du.	Dutch
E.	English
G.	German
Sa.	Saramaccan
Sr.	Sranan
V.	Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

0.2 Symbols

From Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: XII-XIII). See chapter 2 for further information and theoretical background.

0.2.1 Additions

< <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added on the line
<ol. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added over the line

x Preliminary pages

<ul. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added under the line
<lm. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added in left margin
<rm. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added in right margin
<tm. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added in top margin
<bm. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added in bottom margin
<*. *>	something is added, but illegible
< <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> possibly added on line
\$ <i>a</i> \$	<i>a</i> added by editors of corpus
<\$ <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added at end of paragraph or section
<np. <i>a</i> >	<i>a</i> added on next page, normal type page

0.2.2 Omissions

[- <i>a</i>]	<i>a</i> deleted
[-*. *]	<i>a</i> token is deleted and illegible
[- <i>a</i>]< <i>b</i> >	<i>a</i> deleted, <i>b</i> added on line
[- <i>a</i>]<ol. <i>b</i> >	<i>a</i> deleted, <i>b</i> added over line
[- <i>a</i>]<ul. <i>b</i> >	<i>a</i> deleted, <i>b</i> added under line

0.2.3 Replacements

[<i>a</i> +]< <i>b</i> >	<i>a</i> is overwritten by <i>b</i>
---------------------------	-------------------------------------

0.2.4 Uncertain readings

* <i>a</i> *	<i>a</i> is uncertain
<i>a</i> * <i>b</i> *	<i>b</i> behind <i>a</i> is uncertain
...	three tokens are uncertain, one dot per token
...(?)	uncertain whether something is written
word	whole word is uncertain
<i>A/a</i>	uncertain whether upper case <i>A</i> or lower case <i>a</i> is intended
<i>a/b</i>	uncertain whether <i>a</i> or <i>b</i> is intended
<i>ab\cd</i>	uncertain whether <i>ab</i> and <i>cd</i> are written as one

0.2.5 Other metagraphic notations

<i>a b</i>	<i>a</i> and <i>b</i> are placed over/under each other where <i>a</i> is the upper and <i>b</i> the lower form
	blank space on the line

Phonetic transcriptions according to SAMPA (Rietveld & Van Heuven 1997: 395-396). When transcribing speech, I used /.../ for phonological transcription and [...] for phonetic transcription. I indicated written characters with <...>, which only appear when it can not be confused with the angled brackets to note additions.

0.3 References

In this dissertation I will often refer to the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts in our corpus. From 1986 onwards it was common to use the codes that Stein (1986b) introduced in his article about the manuscripts in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut (Germany). These codes are also used in the *Comprehensive Bibliography of Texts*

in and about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which was first published in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 283-317).¹

Our codes are slightly modified; for instance 3.2.2. is changed into 322. When a text is first mentioned, it is accompanied by its reference and code. The full references can be found in chapter 19, *Primary Texts*. In the rest of the text only the codes are used.

Example:

Full reference:

[Magens, Jochum Melchior]. 1781. *Die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creols tael en ka giev na die ligt tot dienst van Die Deen Mission in America [Gedrykt in Copenhagen, 1781. Bie Die Erfgenamen van Godiche]*. Copenhagen: Godiche. 10,9 x 18,7 cm, 1166 pp. numbered + 38 pp.

Short reference:

Magens (1781)

Stein (1986b:27): nr.3.1.5

Code in this dissertation: 315

To refer to an example from the manuscripts:

(3231: 6) manuscript 3231, section 6.

Reference to pages is not always possible in all texts because of the lack of page numbers, or mistakes in page numbering. When I refer to a page, I will indicate this. Reference to lines is possible when working in the Clarin-NEHOL database; however, I often worked with the original digital data base, which was made in WordPerfect 4.2, but converted into Word.

0.4 List of illustrations

p. 25-27: Several fragments from manuscripts 321, 322 and 325, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany

p. 51: Example of one double page of Census 1691, S. Holsoe.

p. 55: Distribution of family name *Cloet*, Familienaam.be

p. 56, left: Distribution of family name Saman, The Netherlands www.cbgfamilienamen.nl/nfb.

p. 56, right: Distribution of family name Saman, Belgium familienaam.be.

p. 59: Average family composition of a lot

p. 79: Fragment from the Madlena letter in Von Zinzendorf (1742: 485)

p. 90: Metalinguistic excerpt from Auerbach (1774), Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.

¹ Updated versions of this bibliography are regularly published on www.diecreoltaal.com.

xii Preliminary pages

- p. 93: Excerpt from diary Martin (November 8th, 1736), Unitätsarchiv, Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 123: Audience Design Model, Bell (1984: 159).
- p. 124: Audience Design Model, Van Rossem
- p. 132: Fragment from manuscript 322, par.14, p. 40, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 149: Excerpt from manuscript 322, p. 4, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 152: Excerpt from manuscript 322, p. 41, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 166: Fragment from manuscript 322, p. 195, Unitätsarchiv, Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 171: Fragment from Moravian Grammar (1903: 86), Leyden University Library.
- p. 190: Fragment from manuscript 326, p. 9, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 198: Fragment from manuscript 321, p. 34, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 200: Fragment from manuscript 3311, p. 20, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 215-277: Fragments from resp. manuscripts 321, 322, 3231, 3232 and printed text 3110, Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, Germany.
- p. 317: Photo copy of field notes 1936 from letter Nelson (July 18, 1996). Photo by Niels van Rossem.
- p. 321: Cover of De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork Diary 1922-1923, Leyden University Library, Collection KITLV, signature: OR 385 (5-6).

Part I

Introduction

1. The challenge of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources

The existence of a large language corpus does not automatically imply that its contents can be used to describe the language well. This seems to be the case with regard to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which has a relatively large corpus of eighteenth century texts digitally made available, but their authenticity is sometimes doubted because of its style and somewhat limited contents. In the introduction I will first present a brief outline of this Dutch related Creole language of the former Danish Antilles and the composition process of the corpus. Most important is however the description of my research questions which lead to the main question: How authentic is written eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?

1.1 A sketch of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole¹

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century three Dutch related Creole languages emerged in the Caribbean: Skepi Dutch, Berbice Dutch, and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.²

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which was also called *Negerhollands* from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, is the topic of this dissertation. It emerged at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century and was already studied in the eighteenth century. See 1.2 of this introduction and Sluijs (2017: chapter 2).

It was not only delivered to us through missionary texts which were written and translated by missionaries who had to learn this language. In the twentieth century at least four important waves of fieldwork took care of the conservation of the language as spoken by the descendants of the enslaved Africans (see 1.2). In the 1980s Gilbert Sprauve published recordings of the last speaker of Virgin Islands

¹ In this work I focus on the earliest stages of a new language; however never forget that this language emerged in the ink black ages of Atlantic slave trade, in which African people were kidnapped, sold as goods and handled as tools. These enslaved people were forced to learn and create new languages, which would probably have never existed without the oppression of European colonists.

² The most mysterious one is, without a doubt, Skepi Dutch. This language must have been spoken in Dutch settlements along the Essequibo river, Ian Robertson found several words and sentences which were remembered by Guyanese speakers. When Marijke van der Wal discovered a sentence in a letter from 1780 of the *Letters as Loot* database (Van der Wal 2013), the language gained two centuries of history, however, even in the 1970s, only rememberers conserved elements of this language (Robertson 1989). Berbice Dutch is another Guyanese Dutch Creole, it has been extensively studied. The oldest wordlist and sentences are from the beginning of the nineteenth century. When Ian Robertson rediscovered the language in the 1970s it was still spoken by several people on the borders of the Berbice River and Wiruni Creek. Extensive studies by, among others, Silvia Kouwenberg and Ian Robertson, describe the language thoroughly. In 2014 Robertson found out that a last native speaker lived in the Wiruni Creek district in Guyana. In January 2016 we received his message that she passed away.

2 I. Introduction

Dutch Creole, Alice Stevens, on cassette tapes and in 2012 Robin Sabino added an important addendum to her handbook of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole: about 100 MB of recordings of 322 words and sentences from the same informant, who was also her teacher in learning the language.

One interesting sentence in these recordings is the following:

- (1) Am a rup sji butji fo ko help am fo
 3SG PST call 3SG.POSS brother FOR come help 3SG FOR
 mata di kui³
 kill DET cow
 ‘He called his brother to come and help him to kill the cow.’ (Sabino 2012:
 sound file 290)

In this sentence we see several elements which are typical for Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In the first place the use of separate preverbal TMA-markers. In (1) *a* is used as a marker of the past tense. We can also find *ka* for perfect tense and *le/lo* for future tense or durative mood, however a closer study shows a wider range of meanings. Van Sluijs (2014b) uses the aspect indication imperfective (IPFV) with regard to twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, however, he notes that the earliest use of *le/lo* in eighteenth century material does not always resemble twentieth century use (Van Sluijs 2017, chapter 4).

The second characteristic is the use of the same form of the pronoun in different functions. In (1) *em* ‘3SG’ is used in both subject and object position, whereas its Dutch etymon *hem* ‘him’ can only be used in object position (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 14). The use of invariant pronoun *sji* ‘3SG.POSS’, which is derived from Dutch ‘zijn (formal), ze (informal)’ is also typical (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 13).

The use of *fo* ‘for, in order to’ can be found in several Creoles and can be derived from English *for* and Dutch *voor*. In early fragments we can find the combination *for toe* ‘in order to’ which was possibly derived from *voor te*, which can be used in informal Dutch while *om te* is more common in standard Dutch. The complementizer *for* can also be used as a locative preposition ‘in front of’ or beneficial preposition ‘for (someone)’ (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XVII).

The combination *fo ko help em* ‘in order to come and help him’ is an example of serialization of verbs. In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole serial verbs are used, however, not as frequently as in the African languages which had an influence on the Creole language. Both actions of the verbs are united in one general meaning. The following is a clearer example:

- (2) sellie ha loop slaep mit tien yer
 3PL PST walk sleep with ten hour
 ‘They went to bed at ten o’clock.’ (Magens 1770)

³ My transcription.

Although the verbs *loop* and *slaep* are separate actions, the combination has one meaning, namely ‘go to bed’. (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 14-15). Serial verb constructions are not uniquely Creole.

In example (1) almost all words were derived from Dutch. However *mata* ‘to kill’ is from Spanish *matar* and could have entered Virgin Islands Dutch Creole through Spanish or, perhaps more likely, Papiamentu. This Creole, spoken on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, is based on Iberian languages, mainly Portuguese. Because of the close contacts between the Dutch of the Danish Antilles and those in the former Dutch Antilles, and the exchange of enslaved Africans between the islands, the importance of Papiamentu as an influential language should not be underestimated.

The word *butji* ‘brother, little friend/helper’ in (1) shows another important lexical influence, namely of the regional Dutch dialects. Standard Dutch is *broertje* ‘little brother’ and the use of *boetje* can be found not only in the dialects Zeeland and Flanders, and is also used in Afrikaans. We also find this word in other sources of spoken Virgin Islands Creole. In 1923, De Josselin de Jong presents *butji*, *butši*, ‘broeder’ (En. ‘brother’) in his word list (De Josselin de Jong 1926) and in 1936 Nelson gives *buchi* ‘brother’. In early Creole we find *boedje* (Oldendorp 1768,⁴ nr. 0419, s.v. Bruder). In the missionary texts the use of forms looking like standard Dutch *broer* or *broeder* seem to refer to members of the community.

In the following example we see lexical items from Danish, *enten* (>Da. *ingenting* ‘nothing’), English *poa* (> E. *poor* ‘poor’) and seventeenth century Dutch *stibu* (> D. *stuiver* ‘5 cents’, ‘money’). A Creole characteristic is the use of preverbal negation *no* ‘not’, while in Dutch a postverbal negation *niet* ‘not’ is used.

- (3) An no a ha enten stibu. Am a wes poa.⁵
 3SG NEG PST have nothing money 3SG PST is poor
 ‘He did not have money at all. He was poor.’ (Sabino 2012: soundfile 101)

In 1923 De Josselin de Jong attested the Creole version of the Bremen Town Musicians (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 16, story VI). About sixty years later Gilbert Sprauve asked Alice Stevens to translate his English version into Creole, in order to make a comparison possible. One of the sentences is the following:

- (4a) Am a see: howsoo ju blaas soo?⁶
 (4b) Am a sē: wamā ju lō blās sō?⁷
 3sg PST say why 2SG DUR blow so
 S V S V
 ‘He said: why are you blowing like that?’

⁴ Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 56)

⁵ My transcription.

⁶ Recording Sprauve (1985), my transcription.

⁷ De Josselin de Jong (1926: 16).

4 I. Introduction

The correct word order in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is SVO. In Dutch the word order in questions changes from SVO in the main clause into VSO. In (4) we see that Dutch Creole maintains the SV(O) order.

The final remarkable characteristic of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is the use of *na* as a multipurpose preposition. This word, probably derived from Portuguese *na < em a* ‘in the (fem.)’ looks like the Dutch words *na* ‘after’ and *naar* ‘to’, is often pronounced as /na:/ and in seventeenth century Dutch also often spelled as *na(e)*. In this Creole it can have several different meanings ‘to’, ‘on’, ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘after’ and ‘by’ (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XVIII-XVIII) See for instance the following examples.

- (5a) Kō lō mi mi a Briment.
 come go with me NA Bremen
 ‘Come go with me to Bremen’ (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 16)
- (5b) Branmier val na Malassie, da sut hem ha vind
 Ant fall NA molasses because sweet 3SG PST find
 Lit.: ‘The ant falls into the molasses, because he found it sweet’
 ‘He gets what he deserves.’ (Magens 1770)

In the following chapters the use of *na* will play an important role. It seems as if translators step by step replaced Dutch-like prepositions by this Creole one.

1.2 A brief sketch of the history of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and its documentation

Several studies about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole include a short history of the language and I follow these examples. In this dissertation I try to add historical information in the separate sections and chapters to clarify the topics. This section is not only named ‘a brief sketch’, but it actually is one.

As shown in 1.1, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is a Dutch related Atlantic creole language which was spoken in the Danish Antilles/US Virgin Islands from the early 1700s until 1987. It is still under discussion whether the language actually emerged on the African coast, on Dutch plantations on the Windward Antilles or on the Danish Antilles themselves, but in the following chapters I hope to clarify that a genesis on St. Thomas appears to me as the theory which is the most likely.

The following text from 1736 from the German missionary Friedrich Martin (unkn.-1750) is the earliest one in which a language is actually called a Creole:

“Br. Cars[tens] war fleissig wolt das neije testament ins carriolse bringen: es ist aber sehr schwer: den sie besteht in all zu vieler Sprachen.”⁸ (Stein 1982)

Until at least the beginning of the nineteenth century, the language was called *die Creol Taal* or was referred to by more or less similar names. In his 1840 article about Creole Lords Prayers in Adelung’s *Mithridates*, L.Ph.C. van den Bergh

⁸ [Brother Carstens was industrious, wanted to translate the New Testament into the Creole; it is very difficult however, since it consists of too many languages.]

referred to this language as *Negerhollands*, which was in analogy to the use of *Negerspaans*, *Negerengels* and *Negerfrans* for Creole languages related to respectively Spanish (and Portuguese, since it often referred to Papiamentu), English and French. In 1904 Dirk Christiaan Hesseling (1859-1941) received four sentences in which the spoken language was called ‘bastard Creole’ from the Moravian bishop of St. Thomas, E.C. Greider. In his anthology, which was the first large study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, Hesseling used *Negerhollands* in his title and throughout the entire book, even for the Creole language as spoken by the people of European descent. He also uses the terms *Negerspaans*, *Negerengels* and *Negerfrans* to separate the Creoles from their European lexifiers.

In De Josselin de Jong’s diary of his fieldwork in 1922/1923 he refers to the language as *creoolsch* and *Negerhollands*. He brought his copy of Hesseling’s *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen* (1905) to the US Virgin Islands and named his study of the speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole he interviewed *Het Huidige Negerhollandsch* (1926). Nelson (1936) only used the name *Creole*, since he was at the moment of his fieldwork unaware of existing literature about this language. From the 1970s on, the last speakers referred to the Creole language as: *die how Creole* ‘the old Creole’, to distinguish it from Virgin Islands English Creole.

German researchers, like Peter Stein and Thomas Stolz referred to the language as *Negerhollands*, but also as *Kreolisch* or, as Stein suggested, *Carriolsch*. It was, after all, this name which was used first in 1736. Until 2015 I continued using the name *Negerhollands* for all varieties of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, even when Robin Sabino suggested to use this name solely for the variety which was actually spoken until 1987. From the beginning of 2016 onwards my colleagues and I only use *Virgin Islands Dutch Creole* to refer to the Dutch lexifier Creole language of the Danish Antilles/US Virgin Islands.

The language was the first creole language to be described in a printed grammar (Magens 1770) and in the eighteenth century many texts – mainly liturgical – had already been translated into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. No other creole language shows such a large collection of material so close to the year of its birth. Virgin Islands Dutch Creole became extinct in August 1987, when the last speaker passed away. The European input in the lexicon of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is mainly Dutch and in the beginning of the twentieth century Hesseling has shown that the Zeelandic dialect of Dutch had a huge influence (Hesseling 1905: 61–67, Van Ginneken 1913: 238, 242). Later research made it clear that West Flemish must have been of importance too (Van Rossem 2000).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole loses its position to the English lexifier creole language of the Virgin Islands. Until the beginning of the twentieth century studies were based on the written texts of the eighteenth century. In the beginning of the 1920s the Dutch anthropologist De Josselin de Jong (1886-1964) collected spoken texts from what he considered to be the last speakers. In 1936 the US Scandinavian language specialist Nelson collected a number of words and sentences (Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013).⁹ In the 1960s Gilbert Sprauve (University of the US Virgin Islands) interviewed some last speakers and he worked with them until the 1980s. Robin Sabino (Auburn

⁹ In chapter 13 and 14 of this dissertation I will examine Nelson’s fieldwork and wordlists.

University, USA) was the last researcher to learn the language from the last native speaker of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Sabino 1990, 2012). In the 1980s Peter Stein (Regensburg University, Germany), discovered amongst other texts, a collection of 150 slave letters in Herrnhut, Germany. The Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut appeared to have conserved a huge amount of Virgin Islands manuscripts until then unknown to creolists, of which a large portion was collected and studied in the General Linguistics Department of the University of Amsterdam, and is still studied in the Linguistics Department of the Radboud University in Nijmegen. We owe Stein and the Unitätsarchiv much gratitude for making these Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts available for us in an age in which Europe was separated by the Iron Curtain.

1.3 A digital corpus and how to use it

In September 1991, Hein van der Voort and I were handed a pile of prints of microfilms which were made in Herrnhut from their collection of large eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts.¹⁰ Under the supervision of Pieter Muysken and Hans den Besten, it was our task to enter these texts into a digital corpus which was not only meant to preserve the texts for the future, but also to make them available for future research.¹¹ In the first months we tried to create a framework on the basis of what could be done using computers at that time and of the experiences that Jacques Arends and Adrienne Bruyn had gained while working on their corpus of eighteenth century Sranan texts (SUCA).¹² However, the feeling of pioneering must be conveyed here; since we only knew De Josselin de Jong's and Hesseling's material, every page presented new information and the possibility of rapidly searching the texts was sensational. The idea of creating a huge database of Creole texts, written relatively closely to their period of emergence, was fascinating.

As the corpus grew, our discussions about the composition of the corpus and the authenticity of the missionaries' variety became more and more animated. The differences between the eighteenth century material and the spoken variety which had been published by De Josselin de Jong (1926) and Sabino (1990) seemed so significant, that it seemed easy to call 'our' materials artificial, but on the other hand we could not imagine that missionaries would keep on writing and translating hundreds of pages in this variety when these texts could not be understood by their community.

One major influence on the discussion was the resemblance between the lexifier language, Dutch, and the Creole. At first sight the language which is used in eighteenth century Sranan translations looks like twentieth century Sranan; this is, again at first sight, not at all the case for Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Eighteenth

¹⁰ This material was collected through the invaluable initiative of Peter Stein, who pioneered the work on 18th century Virgin Island Dutch Creole and thus did the groundwork for the research project carried out here.

¹¹ This project took place at the Institute for General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam and was funded by both the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

¹² I will go into the considerations in making this corpus in chapter 2. *Encoding diplomatic editions of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts.*

1. The challenge of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources 7

century Sranan does not look like its lexifier, English, while the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole from the same period and written within the same tradition of Moravian Brethren translators, resembles its lexifier, Dutch, a lot. A speaker of Dutch is able to read the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole material, which is not the case for speakers of English and eighteenth century Sranan. See for instance this excerpt from the Lord's Prayer in Sranan and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole respectively, both by Moravian Brethren and both from about 1781:

- Sr. No tjarri wi na inni Tesi. Ma loessoe wi vo da ougriwan. (Schumann 1781)
- E. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil (Lieberkühn 1771, King James, Matthew 6: 13)
- DC. En no lei ons na Probeering; maar verloss ons van die Qwaaje. (322: 25, p. 84)
- D. En leid ons niet in verzoeking, maar verlos ons van den boze. (Dutch Authorized Version, Matthew 6: 13)

Another point of discussion about the authenticity of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts was the use of complex religious jargon. Comparable religious jargon in Sranan and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole: *Apostel*, *Discipel*, *Sacrament*, *Testament* and *Avondmaal* were not changed into terminology connecting to a non-Christian population. This terminology appeared to be so important that in several prefaces of missionary texts it was mentioned that 'if words could not be translated into Creole, the Dutch equivalent was used'. A further indicator of distance between Creole and lexifier was the use of Germanic case endings, like in *Jesum* 'Jesus' and *Koningrik Godtes* 'Kingdom of God'. A last example of a point of discussion about authenticity is the frequent appearance of word-for-word translations.

In 1997 John McWhorter started his review of Jacques Arends (ed.) *The Early Stages of Creolization* as follows:

'The reader is asked to imagine the following corpus: three letters written by French-born planters in Virginia to the British government in 1690; a four-page agreement by a Hessian general to fight alongside the American colonists during the Revolutionary War; a diary written in 1810 by the Swedish-born wife of a Congressional representative; fifteen letters home written by African-born Civil War soldiers; a phrasebook for French travelers to the United States from 1882; and the transcript of a radio broadcast by an Austrian-born comedian in 1936,

Now, imagine that the year is 2250, and that a cadre of scholars counts the occurrences of pronouns, articles, and copulas in these documents – none written by native speakers of English – and submit them to quantificational analysis. Finally, imagine the results presented as depicting the development of vernacular American English!' (McWhorter 1997: 174)

The subsequent critical review is clear. McWhorter presents four points which should be taken into consideration before working with our digital corpus:

8 I. Introduction

‘First, almost all of these documents were written by Europeans with non-native competence, if any, in the creole. Even the letters written “by” slaves were usually transcribed by these Europeans. And even when the Europeans’ competence appears to have been “good,” we must ask ourselves how confidently we would chart the history of English based solely on materials written by Chinese missionaries whose competence in English was “good.”’

All true; however, could it be that the critical view of the missionaries about their competence of Creole at least shows an intention to approach the language of the enslaved population as closely as possible? Couldn’t we expect a missionary to connect as well as possible to the members of his community?

‘Second, creoles are denigrated oral vernaculars, usually spoken alongside prestigious, written lexifiers. The authors of the early documents predictably tended to shift the creole towards the lexifier considerably, which betrays itself in suspiciously “written” constructions that are unlikely to have ever been current among black plantation workers.’

Again clear and convincing; however, in the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, the written variety of Dutch was not used as the vernacular. Not only content words in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole lexicon show a dialectal, spoken, heritage of the lexifier, but also function words like *sender*, the pronoun of 3PL which can be used in several functions. The “written” constructions could also be due to missionary jargon. What if we peel off the orthographical layer, and the layer of missionary jargon? Couldn’t it be possible to see at least some elements of everyday Creole?

‘Third, many constructions in a creole which appear to have developed gradually are mirrored in the African languages spoken by the first slave, and thus are likely to have been borrowed from these languages having already evolved.’

Indeed, Robin Sabino shows this for twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and Robbert van Sluijs presents some convincing cases in our corpus of eighteenth century texts. When the texts appear to be linguistically too closely related to religious source texts to be authentic Creole vernacular, we must search for other clues. These should be searched for in textual emendations, not only within the texts but also in the different variants of the same text. As I have mentioned above: a missionary may be expected to connect his language as closely as possible to his audience. We should also not underestimate the use of metalinguistic comments. For instance, in Oldendorp’s description of the Creole language, several remarks are made about the dos and don’ts when translating a text in a correct way.

‘Finally, documentation generally begins so long after the creole emerged that there is a question as to whether the documentation captures creole “genesis” at all. For example, we have no remotely substantial document in Sranan until about 125 years after the colonization of Suriname.’

1. The challenge of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources 9

The exclusive property of Creole languages is that the period of emergence can be indicated more or less precisely. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that Dutch Creole already existed in 1672. In 1665 the Danes made first attempts to colonize St. Thomas. According to Goslinga (1971) around 1666, a group of Dutch planters fled from St. Eustatius to St. Thomas to escape from English raids. According to Goodman (1985) there may be a possibility that a contact language migrated together with this group. In 1736 the Creole language of the Danish Antilles is mentioned for the first time.

The earliest more or less longer texts we have are from 1739. It is not the time between the emergence and the first texts which leads us to question the authenticity of the missionary texts. Of course the above mentioned facts about language competence of the translators can be discussed, but what if Dutch Creole did not emerge in the earliest years of the colony? The ratio of enslaved people and colonists in the early period is almost 1:1 and therefore one could expect a variety of L2 Dutch instead of a Dutch related Creole.

Working with a language language corpus often implies studying and comparing the number of appearances of items of interest. However, purely quantitative research with our large corpus of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Texts only written by non-native missionaries cannot lead to hard direct conclusions about creole genesis. We must put the texts in a philological perspective before drawing any conclusions. That is what this dissertation is about.

It is not only the corpus and the quantitative perspective are under discussion. Sabino (2012: chapter 4) argues convincingly why the variety used in most of the eighteenth century texts should be analyzed separately. Sabino amongst others states that the missionary variety seems 'bookish' (Sprauve, in Sabino (2012: 84)), 'significantly shaped by deliberate engineering of missionaries' (Mühlhäusler in Sabino 2012:80)), 'so that the Negroes themselves barely understood and in some places [it] seemed more like bad Dutch' (Pontoppidan, in Sabino 2012: 93). To gain a critical view on the missionaries variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, Sabino (2012: chapter 4) is a must-read.

In order to obtain as much linguistic information as possible from these early Creole texts, these should be studied closely with the above mentioned critical perspective kept in mind. The following facts are helpful in the quest for the genuine language variety/varieties of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole:

- a. No Virgin Islands Dutch Creole has been attested before 1739, however, metalinguistic comments about it date from the beginning of the 1730s.
- b. Most of the writers of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts were not native speakers of this language.
- c. Most of the eighteenth century texts written by people likely to have been speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, are not in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, nor in another creole language, but in Dutch. Their variety of Dutch shows Creole elements. These elements are likely to result from the influence of the native language of the Creole writers.
- d. Most of the missionary texts were edited in order to create better versions.

In Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 30-31) we ask ourselves several questions related to the interpretation of eighteenth century written Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. First of all, there is the issue of *audience design*: was the material meant for a predominantly white urban population, or for the plantation slaves? Second, there is *linguistic competence* and *procedure*: how well did the translator know Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and which variety? How were native speakers involved in the translation process? Finally, there is *translation practice* and *style*: it is clear that sometimes not even an attempt was made to approach the spoken language, e.g. when the Latin accusative *Jesum* appears in the texts. Did the missionaries attempt to create a separate liturgical register, fit for the conveyance of religious feelings and ideas? (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 31)

All these questions were included in my original set of research questions for this PhD project.

1.4 Questions about missionary linguistics

In my original formulation of this dissertation project I asked myself the following questions. Since the authenticity of the language used in the manuscripts is disputed, the first questions are related to the writers and translators of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts.

1. Which opinions did the missionaries have about the language they were translating their languages into?

It is clear that missionaries have a need to use the language of the people they want to connect to. The field of missionary linguistics depends on this need and goes into the knowledge of the missionaries of the languages of their community and the best way to translate essential texts into these languages. Several studies of foreign/non-European languages have their origin in these needs and the system of correct and efficient translation is often described.

The history of the mission of the Moravian Brethren is well defined and is easy to study because of the extensive history written by C.G.A. Oldendorp (1777, 2000, 2002) and the well preserved texts in the archives of Herrnhut (Germany) and Bethlehem (Pennsylvania, USA). The Danish Lutheran mission is described in Larsen (1950), however in this dissertation my focus is mainly on the mission of the Moravian Brethren.

The opinions of the translators themselves about the language that should be used are included in studies by Stein (1985, for instance), however, several texts and metalinguistic comments have not been looked at closely until now. Not only is the use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole of interest. The use of Dutch in the early years of the mission in the eighteenth century and the transition to English in the beginning of the nineteenth century also need to be looked into, because of the influence that they had on the translations and possible interference with the Creole language.

1. The challenge of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources 11

2. Was the focus of the missionaries the correct use of the target language or the correct presentation of the, often religious, source texts?

The use of the Creole did not have a solely informal objective. Although several sources that show the interest of the missionaries did not only have to do with matters of faith, the translations of the liturgical texts did. The connection between the texts and the community of enslaved people was of importance, however, as stated in several missionary sources; it was necessary to introduce the Christian beliefs in a proper, indisputable, way. Terminology and acts should be as originally intended within the community of Moravian Brethren and in cases where these would not connect properly to the life and language of the members of the new community, it was the language which should be enriched rather than practices simplified.

3. According to several sources Danish and German missionaries were using differing varieties of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The Danish variety would be urban and spoken by higher social classes than the rural oriented German variety. Can this dialectal difference be recognized in our corpus?

The Danish Lutheran mission was of a later date, but their use of translations can be compared to that of the Moravian Brethren. Hesseling (1905: 36) was the first one to assume that the missionary language of the Danish mission differed from that of the Germans. If that is the case, we would be eager to know which differences are distinctive. Is it true that Danish use of Dutch Creole was more urban and originated from the Creole used by the higher class, while the Creole used by the German was more rural and of lower class?

4. Which orthography do the missionaries use to display the most correct variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?

There are many differences between the eighteenth century texts and those of the twentieth century. In the first place the subject of the texts differs: the bulk of the eighteenth century texts is related to liturgical matters, while almost all informal, spoken and folkloric texts in day to day language are from the twentieth century. Even in present day, European institutionalized languages there is a difference between the spoken language and the written rendering of it. Could the difference between the eighteenth century material and that of the twentieth not also be explained by a difference in orthography? Missionaries used the orthography they knew from their native languages, which can be seen in the differences between the texts of Danish and German missionaries. However, we must keep in mind that until the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, standardized orthography as common in modern times, was exceptional.

The manuscripts we entered in our digital corpus and also the ones which we intended to include in it, contain a lot of changes made by both writers and editors. It is clear that these improvements and corrections were directed at the audience for

12 I. Introduction

the (sometimes read aloud versions of) texts. With regard to these changed elements I asked myself the following questions:

5. Which possible ways can the translators and editors use emendation to improve their texts?

While working on the digital corpus, we had to use a clear system to document all changes in the texts as clearly as possible. A simple scratch is easy to explain and encrypt by the editor, however a closer look at the manuscripts show some odd ways to indicate the needed change of elements.

6. Which variety of Virgin Island Dutch appears when all emendations are implemented?

When all indicated and proposed changes are made, the manuscripts should be more in line with the intended text. The translator wanted to connect as well as possible to his audience through his text, so we may assume that the text without the emendations was not as appropriate for the audience as the text that emerged after them. Does this imply the new text is a better reflection of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole of the enslaved members of the Moravian community?

7. Does this method of improving texts also appear in comparable texts in other Creole languages? Do the emendations in other Creole texts have the same results as in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts?

Obviously missionary texts were not only produced in the Danish Antilles, however it is interesting to see that highly comparable texts were written and translated for several missions of the Moravian Brethren within the same short period of time. An example of this is the translation of the so-called Gospel Harmony¹³ of Samuel Lieberkühn, the source text of which was composed and edited in 1769. In the Danish Antilles we see three complete and two incomplete translations between 1773 and 1833. The English translation is from 1771. In 1792 Wietz translated this text into Saramaccan/Sranan and Schumann did the same for Sranan in 1780. All these translators were from the Moravian Brethren; however I do not know whether they received the same instructions translating correctly. I wonder if such an instruction existed and was taught in Europe before the Brethren left for their new missions.

1.5 Questions about the use of Dutch

It is not just Virgin Islands Dutch Creole that contains a Dutch component which can be traced back to the dialect of the Dutch province of Zeeland. Several elements in Berbice Dutch, for instance, can be traced back to this dialectal origin. Originally this component was called Zeelandic Dutch, however little is known about the

¹³ A Gospel Harmony is a compilation of the four Gospels of the New Testament into one text. In the Lieberkühn Gospel Harmony some sections are borrowed unchanged from their biblical source, while others are composed of related sections from all four Gospels.

1. The challenge of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources 13

varieties of Dutch which were spoken in the islands where Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was spoken. There are for instance no sources as yet which are related to the Danish Antilles in which this variant of Dutch was used.

I consider it important to indicate the lexifier variety as accurately as possible in order to get a correct understanding of its role as a vernacular in the society of the Danish Antilles, and also to get insight in the language used by the missionaries and the language the enslaved people learned to read and write in.

8. To what extent was Dutch used as a vernacular in the Danish Antilles?
9. Which non-formal Dutch variety was used during the period of emergence of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in the area of genesis of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?

Dutch Creole words clearly indicate a southern Dutch lexifier. This lexifier can only be proved by studying the language which was used in the Danish Antilles, at least in the period the Creole emerged, between 1672 and 1736. A closer look at the first European inhabitants of the Danish Antilles and a sociolinguistic investigation into this community is necessary to sketch the early years of the Creole genesis.

We also need sources which present information about the use of Dutch and so metalinguistic comments about language use at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century should be analyzed in order to complete the picture.

10. Did a possible Caribbean Dutch dialect of seventeenth/eighteenth century exist?

One of the so-called sailing letters which are included in the *Letters as Loot* database¹⁴ was from Guadeloupe. Only a short glance at the history of the Dutch in the Caribbean shows that their settlements can be found on almost, if not all, Caribbean islands, independent from the nationality of the colonial occupier. I also never realized that you can actually see one or more islands from the other. A look at the heritage of the first inhabitants of St. Thomas already shows migration between a large number of islands. It would therefore not surprise me if the Dutch in (this part of) the Caribbean, who were often born in this side of the world, developed their own Caribbean Dutch dialect.

¹⁴ Brieven als Buit (2015): 'Approximately 40,000 Dutch letters from the second half of the 17th to the early 19th centuries have been gathering dust for centuries in British archives. They were sent home by sailors and others from abroad but also vice versa by those staying behind who needed to keep in touch with their loved ones. Many letters did not reach their destinations: they were taken as loot by privateers and confiscated by the High Court of Admiralty during the wars fought between The Netherlands and England. These confiscated letters of men, women and even children represent priceless material for historical linguists. They allow us to gain access to the as yet mainly unknown everyday Dutch of the past, the colloquial Dutch of people from the middle and lower classes.'

1.6 A question about language use of the enslaved inhabitants

The enslaved people of the Danish Antilles, at least the ones who were regarded by the Moravian Brethren as the most talented ones, were encouraged by them to learn to read and write. From 1738 on they have sent letters to several addressees in Europe and America. The earliest of these letters reflect a situation in which the writers tried to write in Dutch, including the fixed constructions which were also used in contemporary letters of people of Dutch descent. The uncertainties in these letters show that at least the act of writing was uncommon, but also that the native language of the writers could also differ from Dutch. Not much is known about the actual situation of education. In this dissertation I do not focus on the education itself, but on the language the enslaved people wanted to write in.

11. Which language did the enslaved people of the Danish Antilles learn to use during the reading/writing lessons by the missionaries: Dutch or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?

We must of course keep in mind that the missionaries had to learn the Creole language from the enslaved Africans and other Creole speakers on the Danish Antilles. See chapter 5 *Metalinguistic comments*. The topic of this question is however which language was intended in their letters.

1.7 A question about the development over time of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

In the twentieth century in at least three periods Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was recorded by fieldwork. The material was gathered at first hand, often noted in a phonological way and was therefore hardly blurred by the European orthographical influence of L2-learners. It is this variety which can without a doubt be called the most authentic. I will not go into the variety which was studied closely by Gilbert Sprauve and Robin Sabino in the 1970s and 1980s, see the extensive handbook by Sabino (2012). A close comparison of aspects of eighteenth and twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is dealt with by Robbert van Sluijs. I just try to add a comment from a philological point of view about the studies from the first half of the twentieth century.

My original question with regard to this subject was: Which remarkable differences can be recognized between eighteenth and the twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole? It was too wide and therefore I have changed it into the following question.

12. What does a philological perspective add to what we already know about twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and its study?

After answering all of the above mentioned questions I hope to present as clear as possible an answer to my main question:

*How authentic is written eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?*¹⁵

I do agree with McWhorter that a purely quantitative method in which these texts are used as data sets of linguistic elements must be looked at with caution. However, when the discussed texts are placed in a tradition, when the communication situation around the text is clarified, when the opinions of the authors about correct language use and their connection with their audience are known, the snippets, even though they are lengthy, become more valuable. In the following chapters I will show my tools: traditional philology and modern audience design.

1.8 Summary

Chapter 1, *Introduction* is the first section of my dissertation. In this chapter I focus on the usefulness of my book. Why would anyone be interested in my study? Is it only useful for those interested in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole or is it also helpful for others? I will try to show that an interesting, and possibly the only, way of clarifying the early stages of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is by using philology, metalinguistic and historical evidence in a complementary way.

Part II is called *Methodology and Starting Points*. Since I am interested in finding traces and remnants of authentic Dutch Creole in the eighteenth century texts, I have to follow several tracks to filter and deduce the entire corpus and history of the texts in order to retain the most authentic parts. I did not use one single methodology, nor have I started my study in one place. Several perspectives appeared to become pieces of a puzzle that fell together to form one picture.

Chapter 2, *Encoding diplomatic editions of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts*, presents an insight into the creation of the original Corpus of Virgin Islands Creole Dutch Texts (the NEHOL corpus), which was later on transformed into the Clarin-NEHOL corpus. I will show our considerations when picking the texts to be entered, however the main part of the chapter is dedicated to the integration of diplomatic symbols used to conserve as much philological information as possible.

The lexicon of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is not only Dutch, but also contains words which can easily be referred to Southern Dutch dialects. In chapter 3, *Demography and language*, I show that this dialect information can be linked to demographic information. The heritage of the colonists, the composition of their families and society present evidence for the use of Dutch as a lingua franca, or even as a koine, and even for the reason why Virgin Islands Dutch Creole resembles Dutch so much.

The first writers, of whom we may assume their native language or at least one of their languages was Dutch Creole, learned to write from the Moravian Brethren. In chapter 4, *Uncertainty and changes in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts*, I will show that their uncertainties about correct language use present us information about the language these people must have been speaking.

¹⁵ Although texts written and translated by Danish missionaries are also included in our corpus and are also used in this dissertation, the focus of this research question is on texts of the Moravian Brethren.

It is not only primary Virgin Islands Dutch Creole or Creole influenced Dutch texts that are of interest for my research. In chapter 5, *Metalinguistic comments*, I will present secondary material containing external information about language use in the Danish Antilles. The chapter starts with information about the vernacular used among colonists and enslaved people. It complements the information in chapter 3. The earliest missionaries did not know initially which language to use during their services and other missionary activities. Metalinguistic comments of missionaries and historians show that Dutch was of interest, but eventually Dutch Creole had to be used to connect to their audience. It was because of this connection, that correct use of Dutch Creole was discussed among the translators and others of the Moravian Brethren. For this topic I used sources like letters and reports, related to the edition of liturgical texts.

The connection between translator and audience is of great importance. When a text is not understood, it is of no use for the mission, so we may assume the translators tried to improve their texts as much as possible. Both the texts in our digital corpus, and also the manuscripts which are not yet digitalized, are full of changes. In chapter 7, *The writing process*, I will show which changes are due to the process of writing and translating and are therefore most of the time corrections of obvious mistakes and writing errors.

The emendations, the improvements of the text for a better connection to the audience of it, can also be analyzed. In chapter 6 *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles*, I use the Audience Design Model to categorize these changes. It appears that the translators on one hand had to follow the original source texts and tradition, but on the other hand had to connect to their readers and listeners. Bell's 1984 model was originally designed for the study of spoken language in a more or less mutual communication situation. I will show that this model is also useful for studying written texts in which the feedback of listeners and readers is not as immediate as in spoken language.

In part III *Case studies: eighteenth century corpus Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts* I will present five examples in which I use all of the above mentioned information to gauge the authenticity of the Dutch Creole texts. These studies were triggered by philological anomalies or the use of diplomatic symbols, as mentioned in chapter 2.

The first case study shows the uncommon, but helpful method of presenting alternatives and synonyms in the texts. In chapter 9, *Alternatives in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Texts*, I will try to explain in which ways a translator presented alternatives in his manuscripts. The method which caught my interest is the presentation of both alternatives above of each other meaning that it is up to the user to pick the correct form. The most remarkable case is that of prepositions, which also gives insight in the change of use.

Dutch Creole word order differs from the one of the lexifier language, Dutch and from that of the native language of the translators on whom I focused, German. Since the translators tried to study the Creole as well as possible, I assume they used the Creole word order as consequently as possible. However, word order is often changed and one remarkable way of marking the change is the use of numbers above the words to change place. In chapter 10, *Word order change by numbers*, I will present all cases, but I will focus on the position of the verb and verb related

elements, like (preverbal) negation and TMA-particles. Since the unpublished contemporary Creole grammar of the Moravian Brethren also uses numbers to indicate word order, I will introduce this text as a descriptive and a prescriptive grammar.

In all manuscripts emendations are made by deleting elements and this category contains an uncountable number of examples. However, when an element is not only deleted, but also replaced by another, or when an element is overwritten by another, the emendation becomes clear. In chapter 11, *Deletions and replacements*, I will show that these changes can sometimes clearly be explained by the language of the source text.

One of our considerations when we started to enter manuscripts into our digital corpus, was enabling the possibility of comparing variants of comparable translations. In chapter 11, *Studying variants of texts to discover connection with audience*, I will show that comparison in a traditional philological way, by creating an apparatus of variance, presents insight in the process of improving texts towards the audience. In the first place as many variants as possible of the so-called Gospel Harmony are presented next to each other. Not only do we have five versions of these texts, it is also possible to relate these to the two Creole versions of the New Testament. These texts were written and published between 1773 and 1833. An example of comparison of older texts is the one of the famous hymn *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, Paul Gerhardt (1656)/ *O Head so full of bruises*, John Gambold (1739). It already appeared in all hymnals of the Moravian Brethren, from the earliest we know (Isles & Weber 1749-1753) until the last one in 1784.

In the final case study in this dissertation, in chapter 13 *Annotations*, the question of why a translator would add text to the manuscript afterwards without changing other elements is asked. It appears that the intended audience plays a role: some annotations were made especially for colleagues, but others were added, for instance, to clarify missionary jargon.

In part IV of this dissertation I switch to the first half of the twentieth century. Since the main question of this dissertation points to the authenticity of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, this part may of a different nature. However, the methodology which I initially used to study texts and audience design in the older material, turns out to be also helpful for younger texts.

In this period the field workers De Josselin de Jong and Nelson had another perspective on the Creole language than the missionary translators 150 years before them. The scholarly method and linguistic view may have helped them to collect the data in a systematic way. However, even in this controlled environment of field work, some uncertainties may pop up and can only be explained using the philological tools which I initially used for eighteenth century material.

In chapter 13, *The word lists of Frank Nelson*, I will present the history of the 1936 field work of Frank G. Nelson (1918-2001) until the final edition of his word list. Since De Josselin de Jong had written in 1926 that the Creole language would be extinct quite soon, Nelson's field work is of special interest.

The lists themselves are included in chapter 14 *The diplomatic edition of Frank Nelson's word lists*. The lists were composed by Frank Nelson in 1936, but remained unpublished. When we wanted to include at least a part of it in the 1996

anthology of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996), there was an interesting exchange of letters between Nelson, Den Besten and Sabino in which many ambiguities were explained and resolved. I just integrated this information into one clear edition.

In chapter 15, *The diary of De Josselin de Jong*, I will present the metalinguistic information De Josselin de Jong (1886-1964) included in the diary he wrote during his archaeological expedition of 1922/1923, an expedition during which he also gathered Creole texts. Not only do these remarks present information about the informants, about his way of doing fieldwork, his perspective on collecting language samples, but also on the contents of Creole texts he heard and read.

Since both Nelson's and De Josselin de Jong's wordlists and texts seem to be examples spoken by the last speakers of a language, I will focus on their material in relation to audience design in chapter 16, *Twentieth century field notes in the context of audience design*. Did the way of collecting and the focus of their fieldwork influence the material which was eventually recorded?

The final section, part V, of my dissertation contains four chapters. Three of these are dedicated to the sources and references I have used, and the appendices which go with preceding chapters. However, the main chapter of this section, concluding this dissertation, is Chapter 17, *Final remarks*.

Part II

Methodology and starting points

Introduction

To get to the central issue in this dissertation, the authenticity of the Creole language as used in the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations, we need to focus on three aspects: text, context and model. In this part I will explore these aspects.

When looking at the texts themselves we should keep in mind that all interventions by the author were made for a reason. In the process of digitizing the NEHOL texts, we chose to encode these interventions for further study (chapter 2). Firstly, authors had to correct obvious mistakes made during the process of writing (chapter 7). In addition, authors could have been uncertain about the language used, for instance because of their lack of experience in writing or a growing self-consciousness about their use of their vernacular as a written language (chapter 4). The aspect which is of most interest consists of the emendations made by the author in order to best connect to the intended audience. This last aspect is introduced in this section and explored further in part III.

When working with historical material, it is not only the text itself which is of importance, but also the context. A philologist needs the broader and immediate context to study the texts. In chapter 3 I will demonstrate the value of demographic information for sketching the sociolinguistic setting. More direct information about language use is presented in the metalinguistic comments (chapter 5).

All information about emendations in the texts and (socio)linguistic information from the context needs to be combined in order to study the use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in the eighteenth century. I chose Bell's (1984) Audience Design Model because it gives the possibility to study the speech community best. Although originally designed on the basis of spoken language and style shifts made during conversations, I will show that it can also be used for written texts. Emendations made by the authors reveal their connection to the audience (chapter 6). The metalinguistic comments also reveal the critical awareness of the translators and editors in a communication situation in which not only Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, but also a Caribbean variant of Dutch, was used.

2. Encoding diplomatic editions of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts¹

It is not only the quantity of texts that is of importance for a good corpus. During the startup of the NEHOL corpus in the 1990s we also chose to include as much diplomatic information as possible about the changes which were made by translators and editors in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts and printed works. Alongside that we consciously considered which order the texts should be included in in the corpus to order make research possible with a only a small amount of texts. In this chapter I will present some insight in the first stages of the original NEHOL corpus, which was eventually upgraded into the Clarin-NEHOL database by Robbert van Sluijs. I will also present examples of editorial changes in the manuscripts and the symbols and codes we used for our diplomatic edition. This philological approach was common in medieval studies, for instance, but is not often used in Creole studies. Although I draw some initial conclusions, this chapter should be considered as a tool for the case studies in part III of this dissertation.

2.1 Building the NEHOL corpus: some first considerations

Before turning to core topic of this dissertation, namely to the use of emendations in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts to study their audience design, I need to focus on appearance of the texts themselves. Since I will refer to the changes made by translators and writers, this chapter is an introduction to the actual manuscripts and will show examples from the texts in our corpus. In the following chapters I will step by step deal with the language as it was written down: the variant of Dutch use, the considerations about correct language use and the choice of language varieties to connect best to the intended audience.

In 1991 a large number of prints of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts from Herrnhut (Germany), the main historical center of Moravian missionary activities, were collected at the Institute for General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam.² Under the supervision of Pieter Muysken and Hans den Besten, Hein van der Voort and I first worked on finding the format in which these texts should be entered into the computer. Since scanning these manuscripts was impossible at that time and since no formats for linguistic databases were known to us, we chose to use WordPerfect 4.2, the most common word processor available then. The texts, which

¹ This chapter has been published as a part of Van Rossem (2014a). On February 20th 2012 P.J. Verkruijsse passed away. His proposal for the use of diacritics in diplomatic editions was the basis of the system we used in our Corpus Negerhollands. Although we have never met each other in person, I would like to dedicate this text to his memory. I would like to thank Robbert van Sluijs and Margot van den Berg for their useful comments.

² The project was supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW).

22 II. Methodology and starting points

were edited with as few codes as possible, were easy to convert into any text analysis system available at that moment in time.³

However, it was not just the texts themselves were of interest. During the first days of typing, we were already faced with the problem of the philological information which should be included in the edited versions of the texts in order to retain as much information as possible about text and language for future research. We used the system that the Dutch philologist P.J. Verkruijsse introduced for Middle Dutch texts (Verkruijsse 1973-1974). Since his system was introduced at a time when computers were not used to edit texts, we converted his system into ASCII-codes. We considered that the diplomatic edition of philological information by using color or font would soon be outdated since neither Unicode nor other common systems were not established at that time.

Another relevant consideration was the order in which the texts should be entered into our corpus. Hein van der Voort had already been working on texts of the Danish translators and focused on that material and I started with the Moravian text 322. This Gospel Harmony caught our attention because it is the only one with a preface containing metalinguistic comments. Early research could therefore be done on the basis of texts of both Danish and German translators. The manuscripts of the Gospel Harmony, written by Johann Böhner, 321 and 322, could easily be read and, like in medieval studies, textual comparison of variants of one text became possible.

After two years we had quite a large corpus but some large manuscripts were still not digitized. For instance 326, Böhner's translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* is lengthy and we considered the contents less interesting for newly Christianized enslaved Africans. 324, the Acts of the Apostles, are also not digitally available due to a lack of time. For some examples which can be found in part III of this dissertation, I have researched the manuscripts manually.

In the following years, between 1993 and 1995, we entered as many Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts into the computer as possible, while keeping in mind that an anthology should be made as an introduction to our database and to give an overview of 250 years of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts. The material to be published, which was handed to us by Peter Stein, Robin Sabino, Gilbert Sprauve and Frank Nelson, proved invaluable in gaining a complete overview.

In 2011 our NEHOL corpus was given a new impulse when the Clarin⁴ Project started.⁵ Researchers of the Centre for Language Studies (Radboud University Nijmegen) and Max Planck Institute started to convert the original texts into internationally agreed formats. All texts which were filed in the original database had to be converted into a new format, which made searching and ordering much easier. Historical data, spreadsheet, and glossed, tagged and lemmatized texts are available on http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/, NEHOL. The following five questions were central:

³ An earlier computer-aided analysis of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, with focus on phonology, is Stolz (1984).

⁴ Common Language Resources and technology Infrastructure.

⁵ Coordinator is P.C. Muysken (CLS), the project team consisted of M. C. van den Berg (CLS), R. van Sluijs MA (CLS), C.G.Th. van Rossem (CLS), D. Broeder (MPI) and P. Trilsbeek (MPI).

1. What are the relevant grammatical properties in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and how did they develop over time?
2. What is the role of the native languages of the slave population in the emergence and development of these grammatical properties?
3. What is the role of grammaticalization processes?
4. What can we learn from the existence of parallel translations of the same texts in early stages of the Surinamese creoles Sranan and Saramaccan?
5. What do the philological characteristics of the manuscripts (e.g. corrections) reveal to us about the nature of the texts and their origin?

With regard to the first question: the material of the original Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Database was glossed according to the CLARIN-system. Robbert van Sluijs (Radboud University, Nijmegen), used a template to gloss all the incorporated texts. Alongside that he corrected several typing errors in our 1990s material and created a complete grammatical glossing system. The digital corpus became available on the internet (Van Sluijs 2014c).

With regard to the other questions, I will have to use the information which was recently published in a comprehensive publication about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole by Sabino (2012) and Van Sluijs (2016). In this dissertation I focus on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts however two Gospel Harmonies, Sranan by Schumann (1781) and Saramaccan by Wietz (1792), will be used for comparison.⁶ These are not yet digitally available in Clarin. When the entire database is glossed, diachronic comparison of texts will become possible. An automatized system for comparing texts is not yet available.

We have tried to preserve as much information as possible about the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts in our corpus. That is why the fifth question about the information from the philological characteristics, was of such importance for my research. The philological information not only told us more about the individual texts, but also about the first stages of this language and of the role that the translators and writers played in it. In earlier publications, the diplomatic symbols were not taken into account, however, in order to focus on the translators' and editors' thoughts and considerations about eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, these codes should not be ignored, as I hope to show in the following sections and chapters.

2.2 Corpus based research: the use of diplomatic glosses⁷

Most of the text we included in the Clarin-NEHOL corpus were written or published by Moravian Brethren. A smaller number of texts were from Danish Lutheran writers. Available printed Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts were also included in

⁶ These texts were digitalized by Adrienne Bruyn and Margot van den Berg, who I would like to thank for making them available for me.

⁷ The use of diacritic signs was entirely based on the system of Verkruijsse (1973-1974). The entire system that we used in our corpus *Negerhollandse Teksten* is published in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: XI-XIV). This system was also used by the transcribers of the SUCA-corpus in the edition of Schumann's Sranan Gospel Harmony (1781) and of Wietz' Saramaccan/Sranan Gospel Harmony (1792).

the corpus. An inventarisation of texts present in the Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut is published by Stein (1986) and, as mentioned before, the numbers he used in his inventory were, somewhat simplified, used to encode the often anonymous, manuscripts and related printed work. Van Sluijs (2017: section 2.2) shows exactly which texts are digitally available at the moment. In chapter 18 of this dissertation the references of these texts, and the ones which are not yet included in the corpus for instance because they were not digitalized yet, are presented in brief, as regards their provenance and with a basic description. When necessary for this study, I present extra information about the manuscripts used in the related sections.

For the case studies in part III some manuscripts played a crucial role. In the first place there are four manuscripts of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translation of Lieberkühn's (1769) Gospel Harmony which gave us the possibility to compare variants (see chapter 11). The Moravian Brother Johann Böhner (1710-1785) was the writer of the two earliest ones, 321 and 322. His hand is easy to recognize in the following examples. Dating these manuscripts is problematic since the texts are undated; however metalinguistic comments point to a period between 1773 and 1780. Two following translations are incomplete, anonymous and also undated. Manuscript 3231 shows however the hand of J.C. Auerbach and must therefore be written before 1792, the year he passed away (Anon. 1816: 368), (see 11.2).

In the second place we see a number of unique large manuscripts of translations, which therefore can be compared to their source texts. For instance text 326, Johann Böhner's Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translation of Spangenberg's *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, is dated, signed and mentioned in secondary texts.

Some smaller texts should also be mentioned. For instance manuscript 3315 is not a translation, but a original text in which the use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is not based on German or English examples. Unfortunately most of these texts are anonymous and undated.

All manuscripts share one important quality on which this study is based: they are all adapted, improved and corrected. Sometimes we are able to identify the editor of the texts, and most of the time it is the writer who corrects himself. Because of the importance of these emendations for this study, we need to start this work with an overview of all possible glosses in the above mentioned sources.

The word 'gloss' as used in the field of linguistics often refers to translations or annotations placed by the linguist directly under the original texts, as I did in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole examples below. In diplomatic editions all information given by the writer of the texts is preserved, and the term 'gloss' refers to all kinds of annotations made by the writer her- or himself in the original manuscript/typoscript. Since these glosses were made by the writer, these were obviously meant to add information to the original texts. The translators producing the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts correct themselves regularly. In many cases corrections or glosses are added to correct writing errors, for example, a letter is deleted by a scratch of ink and another one is put next to it. Whole words and sentences can be deleted in this way. It is often clear that the translator meant something else than was initially written, or that his clerical error was due to a misreading during the transcription process. In other cases, however, it is clear that the gloss has a metalinguistic meaning. The system of diplomatic glosses indicating additions, omissions, replacements, lexical changes, alternatives,

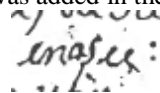
uncertain readings, changes in word order, and metagraphic comments is explained and exemplified in the sections 2.2.1–2.2.8 below.

2.2.1 Additions

In our database additions are marked with angled brackets. An extra code, just after the initial bracket, shows in which direction the gloss/addition is made. The code is ended with a dot and the addition itself follows right after it.

a.

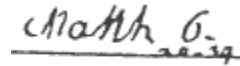
<a>: a was added in the sentence



321: p. 36 en <a> see: 'and said'

b.

<ul.a>: a was added under the line



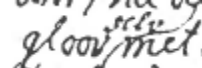
321: p. 52 Matth 6. <ul.20-39> 'Matthew 6: 20-39'

c.

<ol.a>: a was added over the line



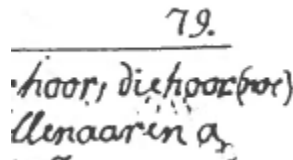
321: p. 36 ve<ol.r>tel 'tell'



321: p.36 gloov <ol.selv> met 'believe self with'

d.

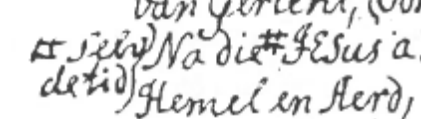
<rm.a>: a was placed in the right margin of the text



321: p. 79 hoor, die hoor <rm.(noe)> 'hear, who hears now'

e.

<lm.a>: a was placed in the left margin of the text



321: p.80 Na die <lm.selv de tid> JESUS 'In the same period Jesus ...'

26 II. Methodology and starting points

f.

<tm.a>: a was placed in the top margin of the text

Ev. am 15^e Sonnt. p. Trinitatis F 53.
 in die Diefvolk no kan kom toe vor dief die. Want na nwar
 jender Skatt ben, nadaar ben ook jender Hert.
 Die Oogo ben die Lij si Licht: as joe Oogo ben unvoudig;
 Soo joe geheele Lij sal wees Licht. Maar as joe Oogo bin
 bedurd; Soo joe geheele Lij sal wees duister. Maar as die
 Licht, weiks ben nabin joe, ben Duisternis; hoe groot die
 Duisternis selv sal wees dann?
 F Niemand kan dien twee Meester: of die sal wees dat em
 321: p. 53 <tm.Ev. am 15 Sonnt. p. Trinitatis> Niemand kan dien twee
 Meester: of die sal wees dat em 'Gospel at 15th sunday after Trinitatis'

g.

<bm.a>: a was placed in the bottom margin of the text

... en die sender doe gewalt, sender haal die met force na sender.
 Want alle Propheten, endie wet a ka prophet kei tee.
 op Johannes. En (as jender will neem die aan) em ben die
 * die brek in (of die kom) met gewalt. Eli
 321: p. 78 gewalt <bm.die brek in (of die kom) met gewalt.> 'who breaks in
 (or who comes) with violence'

h.

<np.a>: a was placed on the next page⁸

waaron joe vrap doch? hoe soo mi Noem ben? En en
 a seggen na daer. En Jakob aroep die Plecht Pui-
 el; want mi a ka kik God van Ingesicht, en mi
 Siel bin geneiden.
 En die Sonn a kom op, as em a kom van Puiel o-
 ver die Iwer: maar em a wees laam na si Hepp.
 Vor daaron die Kinders van Isral no jet van die
 Spammaar na die Hepp ge lank, te vandag si, ter.
 wil em a fass die Jakob hi die Hepp dat duwar a
 Spring em over. 533
 b) Jakob no ahael meer vannonen vorvrap. Want bi
 die Woorden: Joe Naam sal wees Isral, want joe a
 ka behou die overwin bi God, en bi Mensch sender,
 die Heiland a gie em toeghe een overlupende gevoel
 van tege wordigheit. Em a wit noe, wie em ahael
 Wie ben die sender die joe heb hier toe? Em a see: Dat
 ben die Timers, met die Godt aha begroetig joe knecht.
 Da die chagden a slap na toe met send in Kinders,
 en a boek sender. Op die Lea a slap na toe met si Tim-
 ders, en a boek neer; op laet boek Joseph en Rahel
 a slap na toe, en a boek sender. Op die em a see;
 heb na voor em: alia ka kist God, em a see van Inge-
 sicht tot Ingesicht. Door te gebed en Traan, em aha
 krieg die overwin. Die Heiland aha daer, dat Jakob
 a kist em, en a om val em, maar em no a weel, wie a
 neem em na si kring, te em a onder vande. Wanneer als
 die Gohraimeten bi die Hosea Cap. 12, v. 4. s. See: Jakob ka
 kamp met all si krichen met God. Em a kamp met die
 Engel, en a overwin, want em a Traan en a bed em; so
 mi verstaan die gebed van Jakob, wie ch staan hier na

⁸ We did not find any additions of a on previous pages.

325b: p.110-111

<bm.Jakob no (...) a hab <np.hab navoor (...) hier na>> 'Jacob NEG (...) had
<had before (...) after>'

i.

<§.a>: a was added at the end of the paragraph or section

voldaan, wat a ka see door die Propheten sender: *
Na Zarenu's Ensal word geroepen.
* 5 Mos. 33, 16. Esai 11, 1. Cap. 60, 21. Zach. 6, 12.
S. 8.
Luc. 2, v. 22-40.

321: p.15 volldaan, wat a ka see door die Propheten sender: <§5 Mos.
33, 16. Esai 11, 1 Cap. 60, 21. Zach.6, 12.> '5th book of Moses 33, 16.
Jesaia 11, 1 Chapter 60, 21. Zacharia 6, 12.'

j.

<*,*>: something is added, but it is illegible
Appears only in cases of replacement.

k.

<*a*>: something is added, probably a

die a) van Philippi, die Evangelist, da wees

322: p.500 van Philippi, die Evangelist, <lm.die a> [-d<*,ie.*>a] wees 'from
Philip, the evangelist, who was'

l.

<a>: a is possibly added on the line

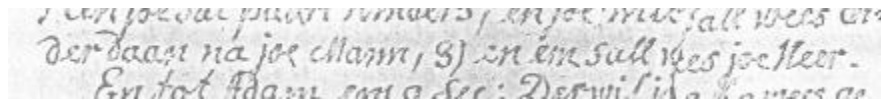
vierentachtig

321: p.17 vier en*<▷>*achtig Jaar

28 II. Methodology and starting points

m.

[a], \$a\$: a was added by the editors of the digital corpus



325a: p.9 derdaan na joe Mann, \$noot\$ z. noot\$ en em sall w*e*es joe Heer.

(EN: \$note specifier without note\$)

In the line, small diacritic signs are added by the writer to indicate that something should be added. These signs can be arrows, or square or round brackets (parenthesis).

Some examples of additions:

- (1) *As joe Oog<ol.o> ben eenfaudig*
as 2SG eye be simple
‘As your eye is simple’

Instead of the Dutch word *Oog* ‘eye’, we should read the more Creole-like⁹ word *Oogo*.

- (2) *Elisabeth a hoor die Groet<ol.nis> van Maria*
Elisabeth PST hear DET greeting of Maria
‘Elisabeth heard the greating of Maria.’

Instead of the Dutch word *Groet* ‘greeting’, we should read another one, namely *Groetnis*.

- (3a) *En as die Engeln a <ul.ka> vaar op*
and when DET angels PST PRF travel up

van sender na die Hemel wat <ol.a> ka see
from 3PL NA DET heaven what PST PRF see

*door di*e* Prophe*te*n sender Mi ben Em, die*
by DET prophets 3PL 1SG BE 3SG DET

<ol.le> praat met joe. Want jender <rm.sal> honger.
DUR talk with 2SG because 2PL FUT starve

⁹ Because of the vowel harmony in the epenthetic /o/-sound.

‘And when the angels have moved from them into the heaven, what had been said by the prophets, I am him who is talking with you, because you will starve.’

Instead of:

- (3b) *En as die Engeln a vaar op van sender*
‘And when the angels moved from them...’,

we should read:

En as die Engeln a ka vaar op van sender
‘And when the angels have moved from them...’.

In the other cases of addition in this sentence grammatical changes are also proposed:

	<i>Originally:</i>	<i>Becomes:</i>
(3c)	<i>Wat ka see</i>	<i>Wat a ka see</i>
	What PRF say	What PST PRF say
	‘what has been said’	‘what had been said’
(3d)	<i>Die praat met joe</i>	<i>Die le praat met joe</i>
	Who talk with 2SG	Who DUR talk with 2SG
	‘who talks with you’	‘who is talking with you’
(3e)	<i>Want jender hunger</i>	<i>Want jender sal hunger</i>
	Because 2PL starve	Because 2PL will starve
	‘because you starve’	‘because you will starve’

In chapter 12, *Additions*, I will focus on the additions which were made in isolation, i.e. without deletions nor replacements.

2.2.2. Omissions

When something is omitted, it was marked with square brackets and a minus sign. When something was added to replace the deleted passage, word or letter, we placed it within angled brackets.

a.

[-a]: a was deleted

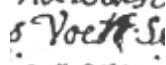
*En joe rnm
Hoghste[n]*

321: p.10 Hoghste[-n]

30 II. Methodology and starting points

b.

[-*. *]: something illegible was deleted



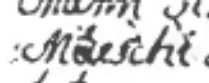
321: p.10 Voet[-*t*]

c.

[-a]: a deleted, b added on line

d.

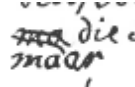
[-a]<ol.b>: a deleted, b added over line



321: p.5 M[-u]<↑e>eschi

e.

[-a]<ul.b>: a deleted, b added under line¹⁰



321: p.67 [-ma]<↓maar>

Some examples:

- (4) *All[-a]maal a loop gau[-w]*
all PST walk fast
‘All walked fast.’

Instead of *allamaal*, we should read *allmaal*, and instead of *gauw*, we should read *gau*.

- (5) *En a roep ut /[-hart] en a see*
and PST call out|loud and PST say
‘And called out and said.’

Instead of the two alternative meanings *ut en hart*, only *ut* should be read.

- (6) *En die Moeder <ul.of Mama> van Jesus a*
and DET mother or mum of Jesus PST
wees <ol.na> daar[-soo].
BE NA there so¹¹
‘And the mother or mum of Jesus was there.’

¹⁰ Of course *b* can also be added in one of the places mentioned in 2.2.1.

¹¹ The suffix *-so* is used to give emphasis to an adverb in Dutch. It looks obligatory in recent Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Van Rossem 1996).

Instead of the more Creole-like or informal Dutch-like *daarsoo* ‘there so’ we should read the Dutch form *daar* ‘there’. Note the additions of the alternative *mama* ‘mum’ and of the preposition *na* ‘on/to’.

(7) *Hoe [-kan] <ol.soo> die Bruilofd Volk kan fast?*
 how can so DET wedding people can fast
 ‘How can the wedding couple/guests fast?’

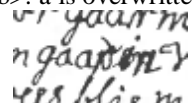
Instead of the more Dutch-like *Hoe kan die Bruilofd Volk kan fast (...)?* (with the verb *kan* in second position) we should read a Creole-like *Hoesoo die Bruilofd Volk kan fast (...)?* (with the verb *kan* in post-subject position). Again we see the particle *-so*, see note 11. The use of a second *kan* in this sentence indicates that the correction was made before the second *kan* was written down, since the use of two verbs is ungrammatical in this case. In chapter 10, *Replacements*, I will focus on these omitted items.

2.2.3 Replacements

When a passage, word or letter was written over another passage, word or letter, we used square brackets and a plus mark to indicate what was deleted and angled brackets to indicate what was written across it.

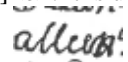
a.

[a+]: a is overwritten by b.


 321: p.34 gaa[der+]<r in>

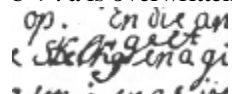
b.

[*a*+]: it is unclear which a was overwritten by b.


 321: p. 22 allee[*s*+]<n>

c.

[a+]<*b*>: a is overwritten by an illegible token, probably b.


 321: p. 145 [skelkg+]<...*> <ol.gelt>

These replacements are generally used to change letter tokens and not entire words. The content of the replacement, however, differs from a change of orthography to a change of lexical item or meaning.

32 II. Methodology and starting points

Examples

- (8) [m+]<M>anir ‘way’ (325a) The upper case *M* was written across the lowercase *m*.
- (9) goe[d+]<j>e Vrugten ‘good fruits’(3315a) The word *goede* ‘good’ (standard Dutch) was changed into *goeje* ‘good’ (vernacular).
- (10) d[at+]<ie> ‘that’ (321a) The Dutch neutral demonstrative *dat* is changed into the male/female demonstrative *die*. The latter is generally used in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, also as an article.

2.2.4 Lexical changes

In several cases an entire word is crossed out and replaced by another. Most of the time the original word is still readable, which offers an interesting insight into the translator’s considerations.

- (11) [-sellie] <ul.[-nder]>
3PL
‘they’

Although in this case both words were omitted, the order in which the corrections were made is clear. Initially the word *sellie*, a more urban version of 3PL. Under the line *nder* was added, so *llie* must have been removed. The word meant here is *sender*, a more rural version of 3PL. It remains unclear to me why both were omitted without an alternative.

- (12) [-Tobo] <ol.meet>
bucket.bushel
‘bucket’

In this situation the more Creole-like version with vowel harmony of the Dutch word *tobbe* ‘bucket/tub’ was omitted, and over the line the more biblical Dutch word *meet* ‘bushel’ was added. We might suppose here that the translator wanted to stay close to the original Bible text.

- (13) J[-oe] <ol.ender>
2SG.2PL
‘you’

Not the entire word but only *oe* of 2SG *joe* was omitted and *ender* was added over the line in order to create the word *jender* (2PL)

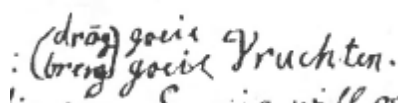
2.2.5 Alternatives

As we saw in some of the examples above, it sometimes appears that the translator leaves the choice of the correct word to the user of the text to determine when it is read out loud. In the preface of Gospel Harmony 322 (about 1780), translator Johann

Böhner comments on the use of alternatives and difficult words in his texts. In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole he writes about the use of brackets: “*En [-a] waar mi ka sett twee Woorden boven malkander nabin soo een Klamp: (draag|breng) goeie|goeie Vruchten. Soo ben vor neem of lees maar die een.*” ‘And where I have put two words above each other within such a cluster: (carry|bring) good|good fruits. Then you can pick or read only one.’ In this quote we see both our representations of alternatives, by using the vertical bar and the use of square brackets.

a.

a|b: a and b are placed over/under one another, where a is the upper and b the lower form



322: preface (draag|breng) goeie|goeie Vruchten. ‘carries|brings good|good fruit.’

A good example of the use of the vertical bar (or ‘gothic comma’):

- (14) *En a roep ut | [-hart] en a see*
 and PST call out|loud and PST say
 ‘And shouted and said.’

The alternatives presented are the adverbs *ut* and *hart* (of which *hart* is omitted). The constructions *roep ut* ‘cry out’ and *roep hart* ‘cry hard’ have almost the same meaning, so if *hart* was not omitted, the user of the text had the opportunity to choose. The slash in the example was originally a vertical bar or ‘gothic comma’, which did not have any other interpunctual meaning in the rest of the texts. Another way of showing alternatives, was to use curly brackets around the words, for example:

- (15) {*onberispelik* <*ol.sonder* *vout*>}
 impeccable without mistake

The high class Dutch word *onberispelik* ‘impeccable’ is presented next to the simple construction *sonder vout* ‘without mistake’.

Another example:

- (16) {*sing|gesangk*} *boeki*
 sing|hymn book
 ‘hymn book’

34 II. Methodology and starting points

The alternatives are *sing boeki* and *gesangk boeki*. The former does not exist in Dutch,¹² and the latter is a ‘normal’ Dutch word.

Some other examples:

- (17) *En si volk no a neem Em aan/op*
 and 3SG people NEG PST take 3SG on|up¹³
 ‘And his people didn’t adopt him.’

In Dutch both prepositions, *aan* and *op*, can be attached to the verb *nemen*, both meaning ‘to adopt’, with a slightly different meaning.

- (18) *Latt ons loop noe na Bethlehem en/vor kik die*
 let us go now NA Bethlehem and|FOR watch DET
 ‘Let us go now to Bethlehem to watch it’

The use of *vor*, which is quite common in Atlantic creole languages, means ‘in order to’, and has a stronger meaning than just the conjunction *en* ‘and’.

- (19) *Die wint le blaas/waai waar em will*
 DET wind DUR blow|blow where 3SG want
 ‘The wind is blowing where he wants to.’

The word *blaas* means ‘to blow in an active way’¹⁴ while the word *waai*, which means ‘to blow in a passive way’ and can only be used in relation to wind.¹⁵ In Dutch the verb *waai* is the most common form. Danish has *det blæser* for ‘(the wind) blows’ (p.c. Peter Bakker).

- (20) *Die Wief a see na/tot Em*
 DET woman PST say NA|to 3SG
 ‘That woman said to him.’

The preposition *tot* ‘to’ is the Dutch form, while *na* is a word which functions in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as a preposition with a range of meanings (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: xvii–xviii).

A last form of presenting alternatives is the use of the word *of* ‘or’. The examples below are clear and in these cases the more simple form is presented in parentheses with *of*.

¹² To be more precise: the word has not been included in the most important Dutch dictionaries of Middle Dutch, Early Modern Dutch and Modern Dutch, Verwijs & Verdam (1885–1971) and *WNT*. Note, however, *singi buku* e.g. in Sranan.

¹³ The Dutch prepositions *aan* and *op* can both be translated as ‘on’. *Op* can also be translated into ‘up’ (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: xv).

¹⁴ Like blowing a whistle or to blow something away.

¹⁵ Like wind that blows of its own accord.

- (21) A wees vollend (of ut)
it BE over or out
'It is over.'
- (22) Nabin si Korn¹⁶ (of: saathoes)
in 3SG granary or seed house
'in his granary'

The word *saathoes* is a more explanatory version of 'granary' which did not have this meaning in Dutch. The word *zaadhuis* still exists with the meaning 'shell, husk'.¹⁷

- (23) Die kribbe (of: Beest\canoe)
DET crib or beast canoe¹⁸
'the crib'
Een swerd (of: Houwer)
a sword or cutlass
'a sword'

The following excerpt shows a nice double presentation of alternatives:

- (24) Rabbi. (dat ben (Meester) <lm.Leer-Baas> na ons taal)
Rabbi that BE master learning boss NA our language
'Rabbi, (which is master, learning boss) in our language.'
- Handwritten text in Dutch Creole script:*
Om, en a krik sender volg
em, en a see na sender. Wat jender
le soek? en sender a see na em.
Rabbi. (dat ben (Meester) na ons taal)
waar goe woon? Em a see na sender.
Kom, en krik die. En sender a kom
en a krik die, waer em a woon, en sen-
der a bliev die selve dag die em.
en die a wees omtrent vier uur aster mid
dag.
Een

Figure 1: Example of double presentation of alternatives (ms. 322: par. 14)

In chapter 8, *Vertical presentation of alternatives*, I will analyze these alternative forms and synonyms.

¹⁶ In Dutch the word *korn* 'granary' does not exist. *Korenschuur* 'granary', which is nowadays extinct, is the closest variant. Dutch *koren* means 'corn'.

¹⁷ One of the least used meanings of *zaadhuis* is 'small house to keep grain dry in a grain market', but I consider it unlikely to be the source in this example.

¹⁸ I suppose that a canoe-like shape of a crib is the source of this compound.

36 II. Methodology and starting points

2.2.6 Uncertain reading

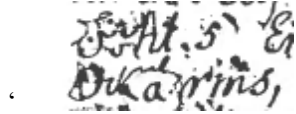
Although uncertain readings are mostly clearly due to dirty paper, scratches, holes, etcetera, in some cases extra metalinguistic annotation can be added. What if it is unclear whether capitals are used? When letters are written or typed across each other, which letter came first? Only the original manuscripts can give the information needed to clear up the uncertainties. The following annotations are used to indicate uncertain readings:

a.

a: a is uncertain

b.

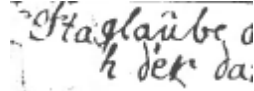
a*b*: b behind a is uncertain



322: p. 3 *Lic*ht. 5 En (...) D*üste*rnis, 'Light. 5 and (...) Darkness,

c.

..: two tokens uncertain



322: p. 27 *Ich* glaübe (...) *...*h der

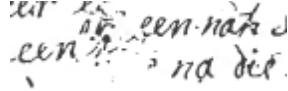
d.

...(?): uncertain whether something is written.¹⁹

I could not find examples of this in the manuscripts in our corpus.

e.

word: whole word is uncertain.

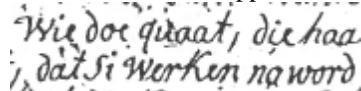


322: 466 een *help* na die 'a help for them'

The word help could only be determined by comparison of related texts.

f.

A/a: uncertain whether upper case A or lower case a is intended.



321: p. 30 Wie (...) *W/w*erken (...) word 'who (...) works (...) become'.

The W of *werken* is smaller than the capital of *Wie*, but differs from the w of *word*.

¹⁹ There are places where spots or cracks look like characters.

g.

a/b: uncertain whether a or b is intended.

322: p.28 (ve*r*) richt*e/o*t, 'performed'

h.

Ab\cd: uncertain whether ab and cd are written as one.

321: p. 4 a\wees 'PST be'

Where parts of the texts were illegible, we used one dot per illegible character, and when there were doubts about the number of characters, a question mark was added. We have tried to identify as many characters as possible.

2.2.7 Changes in word order

In some cases numbers indicate that the order of the words should be changed. The numbers are written above the words and it is clear that another numeral order should be read. Changes in order indicated by arrows or other signs are, as far as I know now, not used.

- (25a) *Em a kik twee<ol. 2> ander<ol. 1> Broeders<ol. 3>*
 3SG PST see two other brothers
 'He saw two other brothers.'

The numbers indicate that the correct order should be:

- (25b) *Em a kik ander twee Broeders.*
 3SG PST see other two brothers.
 'He saw (the) other two brothers.'

A conclusion that might be drawn is: a numeral should always precede the noun.

- (26a) *Alles noe, wat jender will, dat Volk sall*
 everything now what 2PL want that people will
Doe na jender; d[at+]<ie><ol.3> doe<ol.2>
 do NA 2PL DET do
jender<ol.1> na<ol.4> sender: Dat ben die Wet
 2PL NA 3PL that BE DET law
en die Prophten (sender Leer)
 and DET prophets 3PL doctrine

According to the translator/corrector this sentence should be changed into:

38 II. Methodology and starting points

(26b) *Alles noe, wat jender will, dat volk sall doe na jender; jender doe die na sender: dat ben die wet en die prophten sender leer.*

‘Everything, what you want, that people shall do to them, you do that to them. That’s the law and the doctrine of the prophets.’

(26c) *D[at+]<ie><ol.3> doe<ol.2>jender<ol.1> na<ol.4> sender*
 DET do 2PL NA 3PL

Die doe jender na sender ‘that do you to them’ becomes *Jender doe die na sender* ‘you do that to them’.

(27) *Dan<ol.1> a<ol.3> see<ol.4> Jesus<ol.2> weeraan<ol.5>*
 then PST say Jesus again
na sender
 NA 3PL
 ‘Then Jesus said to them again (...)’

Dan a see Jesus weeraan na sender ‘then said Jesus again to them’ becomes *Dan Jesus a see weeraan na sender* ‘then Jesus said again to them’. In both sentences, (26c) and (27), we see that the subject is moved in front of the verb, as is common in Creole languages. The sentences as they were written down in the first place, followed the normal Dutch or German pattern in which an object (26c) or an adverb (27) can be placed in first position. In chapter 9, *Word order and numbers*, I will focus on this phenomenon.

2.2.8 Metagraphic comments

The system of diacritic signs to indicate changes in the texts that we originally used to code the glosses made it easy to search the documents digitally. Some last metagraphic comments are made for the sake of completeness and to indicate that unclarity could also be due to the state of the manuscript. Since we worked with printed copies, remarks about torn paper, holes, ink spots, etc. were indicated by the symbol combination \$...\$. Words which peep through holes in copied pages from a next or previous page can easily be misread as part of the original page, especially when the language that is being used is unclear to the editor. The dollar signs were also used to indicate where a reference sign was not followed by a note or reference but that the translator had a remark in mind. Another uncertainty that could appear was the length of a space in a line. Long spaces were represented by us using two vertical bars.

All kinds of abbreviations of words were used by the translators. Double characters were sometimes represented by a character with a vertical bar over it and like in other manuscripts from this and earlier periods, well-known names were abbreviated in several ways. In some manuscripts by the translator Johann Böhner, an umlaut is represented by a small *e* over the character in question. In all of these cases we underlined the character:

(28) manuscript database
hopo *hoppo* ‘up, above’
Johs *Johannes* ‘Johannes, John’
ko^enig *Koenig* ‘king’

2.3 A few first conclusions

When the diplomat Van Busbecq gathered Crimean Gothic words in Constantinople in 1562, there must have been distortions. Van Busbecq was Flemish, there was no official orthography to use, the interpreter was Greek and the Crimean Goth he interviewed had largely forgotten the language of his people. The original list had been copied a few times and changes were made to it. Nevertheless, some of the approximately eighty words in his list appeared to be new and some showed a change in pronunciation. A philological approach made it possible to relate this text to the Bible translations of Wulfila from more than thousand years earlier. The same holds for the use of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. There are large differences between the texts and the spoken variety of the twentieth century, lots of words appear to be too liturgical for everyday use and the sentences often show Dutch or German characteristics. However, the same philological approach and techniques that were used for the study of old Germanic languages can be of help in studying early Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The first step towards this is the study of metalinguistic comments, which tell us more about the language policy of the translators and about the education of the writers. A comparison of texts may show for instance lexical varieties or diachronic changes, and the coding of annotations may indicate the considerations of the translators to use the language which fitted the readers and listeners.

3. Demography and Language¹

The Creole language Virgin Islands Dutch Creole shows many characteristics which can be related to dialectal Dutch, mainly West-Flemish or Zeelandic. However, these dialectal characteristics cannot be found in any seventeenth century written Dutch sources related to the Danish Antilles. In the search for the varieties that formed the input for Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, I focus on the origin of the first inhabitants in order to reconstruct the language situation on St. Thomas before 1736, the year in which the existence of the Creole language was first mentioned. Based on the distribution of the surnames of the European colonists in Europe, and an extensive demographic analysis of the 1691 census of St. Thomas, I suggest the settlers formed a multilingual society in which Zeelandic/West Flemish influenced Dutch was used as a *lingua franca*.

3.1 Where do the Flemish/Zeelandic linguistic elements in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole come from?

In the previous chapter I have focused on the corpus of Virgin Islands Dutch manuscripts and the diplomatic symbols which we used to clarify the emendations of the writer in a digital database. However, a whole different sets of issues concerns the origin of the Dutch, regional and social, that provided the lexicon and part of the grammar of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

The publications that appeared on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in the early twentieth century were already concerned with the identity of the Dutch lexifier dialect or dialects underlying Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Hesseling 1905: 61-64, van Ginneken 1913: 238). Both Hesseling and van Ginneken suggested that the Zeelandic/Flemish dialect continuum was the source of at least a number of lexical items in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In a review of Hesseling (1905), Logeman (1905: 356) writes:

“it would not surprise me (...) if the Flemings had a much larger share of the colonization than Hesseling believes (...) It speaks for itself that I do not want to exclude Zeelandic for those who have read this book. However, I'd like to give Flemish a larger place.”²

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was published as Van Rossem (2013c). I owe many thanks to Pieter Muysken and Gerald Stell for their valuable comments and feedback, Svend Holsoe for the scans of the censuses of 1688 and 1691, Rob Rentenaar, Doreen Gerritzen and Ann Marynissen for help in the field of onomastics, Jerome Paul, and of course the participants of the Brussels congress “Dutch in contact overseas: Different social factors and different outcomes” (November 23-24, 2012) for discussion and inspiration.

² Translation CvR. Original: “(...) dat het mij niet zou verbazen als een nader onderzoek – vooral indien, hierop kom ik terug, de levende taal, daaraan ten grondslag werd gelegd – uit zou maken dat de Vlamingen veel groter aandeel in de kolonisatie hadden gehad, dan Dr. Hesseling meent, die ten dele steunt op de geschiedenis van die kolonisatie of althans op de feiten uit die kolonisatie die ons bekend zijn geworden. Dat ik ’t Zeeuws niet uit wil sluiten spreekt van zelf voor wie dit boek gelezen heeft, - ik zou alleen aan het Vlaams een groter plaats in willen ruimen.”

42 II. Methodology and starting points

Hesseling himself is critical about using the term Zeelandic since this dialect sometimes varies from island to island, and elements of it can be found in Flanders (Hesseling 1905: 64). Logeman (1905: 357) also has two other arguments for a major Flemish input: the use of French words in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole may indicate a variety of Dutch in which French words are quite common, and the use of *draeg* ‘to bring’, proposed by Hesseling as a Danicism, can easily be traced back to Flemish *dragen*. On the basis of sources available in the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, I showed in Van Rossem (2000: 48-54) that the dialect sounds and words identifiable in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole can be traced back to a geographical triangle encompassing the towns of Brugge, Oostende (both located in Flanders, Belgium) and Vlissingen (located in Zeeland, the Netherlands). Several Virgin Islands Dutch Creole content words appear only in present-day Zeelandic, and even some function words, like pronouns, have a clear southern Dutch base (Hinskens & Van Rossem 1996, Van Rossem 2000: 54-58).

Ten phonological characteristics of the dialect of Zeeland and West Flanders are included in the following table (Van Rossem 2000: 49-51). All examples were found in the sentences of the RND (1933-1935, 1939, 1946).³

	<i>Standard Dutch</i>	<i>Zeelandic</i>	<i>Virgin Islands Dutch Creole</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
1.	<ij> /Ei/ <i>wijn</i> ‘wine’, <i>blij</i> ‘happy’	<ie> /i:/ <i>wien</i> , <i>blie</i>	<ie> /i:/ <i>wien</i> , <i>blie</i>	Middle Dutch /i:/ did not become diphthong.
2.	<ui> /9y/ <i>buik</i> ‘belly’, <i>duif</i> ‘pigeon’	<uu> /y./ <i>buuk</i> , <i>duuf</i>	<ie, i> /i./ <i>biek</i> , <i>diffie/divie</i>	The /y./ is not a diphthong in Zeelandic. In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole /y./ is unrounded. West Germanic /iu/ <iu, ieuw> becomes /i:/ in Zeelandic, West Flemish and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. See <i>vier</i> , <i>stierre</i> and <i>dievel</i> , Standard Dutch <i>vuur</i> ‘fire’, <i>sturen</i> ‘to steer’ and <i>duivel/duvel</i> ‘devil’.
3.	<ui> /9y/ <i>fluiten</i> , <i>lui</i>	<ui> /9y/ <i>fluiten</i> , <i>lui</i>	<oi> /oi/ <i>floiten</i> , <i>loi</i>	This /y9/ is already a diphthong in Middle Dutch. Although not /9y/, in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole it remains a diphthong: /oi/.

³ Phonetic transcriptions according to SAMPA (Rietveld & Van Heuven 1997: 395-396).

4.	<ui> /9y/ <i>huis</i> ‘house’, <i>kruis</i> ‘cross’	<oe> /u./ <i>hoes</i> , <i>kroes</i>	<oe> /u./ <i>hoes</i> , <i>kroes</i>	In some cases Virgin Islands Dutch Creole has <oe> /u./ where Zeelandic has <uu> /y./ and Standard Dutch has <ui> /9y/. However, in eighteenth century sources we also find <i>huus</i> ‘house’ and in twentieth century sources we find <i>hisraad</i> ‘furniture’, which points to unrounded <uu> /y./.
5.	<eu> /2:/ <i>heuvēl</i> ‘hill’, <i>neus</i> ‘nose’	<ee> /e:/ <i>nees</i>	<ee, e> /e:/ <i>hevel</i> , <i>nees</i>	In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole <i>door</i> ‘door’ /do:r/ is also used alongside <i>hovel</i> /ho:vəl/, where Standard Dutch has <i>deur</i> /d2:r/ and <i>heuvēl</i> /h2:vəl/. These can be analyzed as elements from other lexifiers.
6.	<sch> /sx/ <i>school</i> ‘school’, <i>schaap</i> ‘sheep’	<sch> /sx/, <s> /s’/ <i>s’ip</i> , <i>s’chip</i> ⁴ (West Flemish)	<sk> /sk/ <i>skoel</i> , <i>skaap</i>	In West Flanders a small area has /s/ + glottal stop, which may have sounded like /sk/. (Stroop 1990: 144). ⁵
7.	<cht> /xt/ <i>achter</i> ‘after’, <i>dichtbij</i> ‘close’	<st> /st/ <i>aster</i>	<st> /st/ <i>aster</i> , <i>destbie</i>	Van Loey (1964: 100, remark 2) shows that <cht> /xt/ changes into <st> /st/ through the softening of <ft> /ft/. According to Jacobs (1927: 293) this sound is characteristic of West Flemish.
8.	<ar> /Ar/ <i>varken</i> ‘pig’, <i>hart</i> ‘heart’	<er> /Er/ <i>verken</i> , <i>hert</i>	<er> /Er/ <i>verki</i> , <i>hert</i>	These related phonological characteristics are both identified as West Flemish by Willems (1838: 50) and Vercoullie (1885: 8-9). More information can be found in Van Loey (1964: 67-69).
9.	<aar> /a:r/ <i>kaars</i> ‘candle’	<eer> /e:r/ <i>keers</i>	<eer> /e:r/ <i>keers</i>	

⁴ The word *schaap* does not appear in the RND sentences.

⁵ When the research for Van Rossem (2000) took place, I lacked demographical information about the first colonists of St. Thomas.

10.	/-/ <i>oud</i> ‘old’, <i>op</i> ‘on, up’, <i>oog</i> ‘eye’	/-/ <i>oud</i> , <i>op</i> , <i>ôôge</i>	<h> /h/ <i>hou</i> , <i>hoppo</i> , <i>hogo</i>	It appears that the doubt about the use of an initial /h/ which sometimes appears in Zeelandic/West Flemish is also present in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. However, initial <h> /h/ in Biblical names like <i>Heva</i> ‘Eve’ and <i>Habel</i> ‘Abel’ are not due to dialect influence, but can be traced back to the source texts, like the Dutch <i>Statenvertaling</i> of the Bible. Since not all initial <o> /o:/’s are pronounced as /ho:/ I do not consider it a Creole phenomenon. ⁶
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Table 1: Ten phonological characteristics of Zeelandic/West Flemish

Despite the fact that the vast majority of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole lexicon cannot be traced back to one dialectal variety of Dutch, there are some indications that Zeelandic and West Flemish influence should not be overlooked. Hesseling (1905: 64, wordlist) presents the following examples:

	<i>Virgin Islands Dutch Creole</i>	<i>Zeelandic/West Flemish</i>	<i>Standard Dutch</i>
1.	diessendag	dissendag	dinsdag ‘Tuesday’
2.	fraai	fraai	fraai, but in meaning ‘beautiful, good, as it should be’
3.	hoffie	hofje	tuin ‘garden’
4.	kaakel, kaggel	kachel	veulen ‘foal’
5.	kot	kot	hok ‘hutch’
6.	qweel ‘to scorch’	kwelen ‘to suffer’	
7.	roenkertje ‘humming bird, bee’	roenkertje ‘bluebottle, may bug’	
8.	rond	rond, een doek rond het hoofd	een doek om het

⁶ The phenomenon of h-dropping and prothesis of h in seventeenth and eighteenth century Zeelandic letters is studied by Rutten & Van der Wal (2014: 24-34).

		‘lit. a cloth around his head’	hoofd ‘a cloth around his/for his head’
9.	trop	troep	kudde ‘herd’
10.	skifi	schuif	lade ‘drawer’
11.	slöter	sleuter	sleutel ‘key’
12.	wacht	wachten	hoeden ‘to watch’

Table 2: Zeelandic/West Flemish influence by Hesseling (1905: 64)

Vercoullie (1919) also comments on the dialectal influence on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. On p. 302 he presents his explanation for the unclear etymology of *na molee* ‘down’: “*na molee* heeft niet als etymon ‘omlaag’, maar ‘noa benee’ (waarbij de /b/ door assimilatie zijn explosief karakter verliest).”⁷ He also presents a list of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole words which can clearly be related to West Flemish (Vercoullie 1919: 303-304). In the following list I added the West Flemish etyma.

	<i>Virgin Islands Dutch Creole</i>	<i>West Flemish</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1.	allemaal	allemaal	In adjectival meaning: <i>allemaal de mannen</i> ‘all the men’
2.	as	als	Not only ‘as’, but also ‘if, when’
3.	asserant ‘cheeky’	astrant, assurant	‘cool, sturdy’
4.	batterie	materie	/m/ changed into /b/ ‘rest in sugar processing’
5.	bejer	bejer	‘berry’
6.	bottle	bottel	‘bottle’
7.	boetje	boetje	‘little boy, little brother’
8.	cousin	cousin	‘cousin, nephew’
9.	dink op	dinken op	Standard Dutch <i>denken aan</i> ‘to think about’
10.	dissendag	dissendag	‘Tuesday’
11.	flambeew	flambeew	Standard Dutch <i>flambouw</i> ‘torch’
12.	halsneesdoek	halsneesdoek	‘shawl’
13.	kaggel	kaggel	‘foal’
14.	kakketis	hakketis	Standard Dutch <i>hagedis</i> ‘lizard’
15.	kom	komen	In <i>hij komt groot</i> ‘he becomes big’. Standard Dutch uses <i>worden</i> ‘to become’.

⁷ Free translation (CvR): *na molee* does not have as an etymon *omlaag* ‘down’, but *noa benee* ‘down’ whereas /b/ loses its explosive character through assimilation.

46 II. Methodology and starting points

16.	kries	kriesen	‘to cry/weep’
17.	mankeer	mankeren	‘to lack’
18.	mankement	mankement	‘lack’
19.	partie	partie	‘some’
20.	pek	pekken	‘to take’
21.	pesboontje	pertseboon	Standard Dutch <i>prinsesseboon</i> (<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>) ‘French bean’
22.	sala	sala	Standard Dutch <i>sla</i> ‘lettuce’
23.	skaapskot	schaapskot	Standard Dutch <i>schaapskooi</i> ‘sheepfold’
24.	skoen	schoen	‘horse shoe’
25.	sleuter	sleuter	‘key’
26.	steek weg	wegsteken	‘to hide’
27.	sussies	sosiese	‘sausage’
28.	giev tete	tiet geven	‘breast feeding’

Table 3: Zeelandic/West Flemish influence by Vercoullie (1919)

The next seven words can be seen as shibboleth for the Zeelandic/West Flanders dialect area because of their restricted use.

	<i>Virgin Islands Dutch Creole</i>	<i>Zeelandic/West Flemish</i>	<i>Standard Dutch</i>
1.	aster	aster	achter ‘behind, after’
2.	groensel	groensel	groente ‘vegetable, greens’
3.	langajuun	lange ajuun	grove bieslook, stengelui ‘Welsh onion’
4.	nusoo	nuzo	nu meteen ‘right now’ ⁸
5.	rigibeen	reggebeen	ruggengraat ‘spine’
6.	slinks	slinks	links ‘left’
7.	steendoot	steendood	morsdood ‘stone-dead’

Table 4: Restricted use Zeelandic/West Flemish

The Zeelandic/West Flemish forms often resemble the English forms; however, because of their orthography we assume that they have a Dutch pronunciation and therefore Dutch etymon.

Two other Dutch-lexifier Creole languages emerged in the Caribbean, in today’s Guyana: Berbice Dutch and Skepi Dutch.⁹ A comparison of their respective lexicons

⁸ See Van Rossem (1996) for the use of the suffix *–so* in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and its distribution in Dutch-speaking regions.

(Robertson 1989) shows that Zeelandic must have been an essential component of the lexifier variety of Dutch of these two Creole languages as well.¹⁰ Historical records clearly show that the province of Zeeland played a crucial role in the Dutch settlements in the Caribbean (Goslinga 1971: passim, van Goor 1994: passim).¹¹ On the basis of lexical items and phonological phenomena, the dialect variety of the lexifier language can be recognized in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Although the language of administration was Dutch rather than Danish until the second half of the eighteenth century (Poul Olsen, p.c. April 24 2012, Hesselning 1905: 14, Van Rossem 2013c, Sabino 2012: 71), no written Dutch source from the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century displays the typical Zeelandic or Flemish features which appear in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. However, since the distance between written formal Dutch and spoken informal Dutch was quite large until the nineteenth century, I suppose the Dutch vernacular of St. Thomas at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century must have contained the dialectal characteristics which can be found in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. It is this variety which must have been the target language of the speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Although there is a lack of textual sources, in the following paragraphs I will review demographic evidence that Dutch was used as a *lingua franca* on the islands.

3.2 Demographic evidence

3.2.1 *Studies about the first stages of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole*

The simplest explanation for the southwestern Dutch influence on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole would be that the first Dutch colonists had a Zeelandic/Flemish origin and used their native language on St. Thomas, the main island of the Danish Antilles which was colonized first. This variety of Dutch would become the lexifier of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Studies on the history of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in which demographic data on the Danish Antilles were used for linguistic hypotheses often refer to the numbers of inhabitants, ordered according to ethnicity, nationality, inherited wealth, sex, age and date of arrival in order to locate in time the probable onset of the creolization process. (See e.g. Stolz & Stein 1986; Sabino 1990, 2012; Arends & Muysken 1992).

Sabino (2012: 64, passim) is very specific about the African languages of the enslaved people, their number of speakers, and what remained of them in the last stage of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In this chapter, however, I do not focus on the emergence of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and therefore also do not focus on the African influence, but rather on the use of Dutch on St. Thomas and its role as

⁹ Ironically the Creole languages in the former Dutch colony of Surinam and the parts of the Dutch kingdom Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, do not have a Dutch-based lexicon, but are respectively English and Iberian based.

¹⁰ The difference between the lexicons of Berbice Dutch and Skepi Dutch is even larger than the one between Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and Skepi Dutch. Perhaps the same Caribbean Dutch variety acted as a lexifier for both Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and Skepi Dutch (Robertson 1989, Bakker 2014 and Bakker 2017).

¹¹ For the influence of Zeelandic/West Flemish on Papiamentu, see Van Putte (2016).

lexifier. On the basis of the relative proportions of enslaved people and colonists, Arends & Muysken (1992: 52) show that the emergence of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole most likely took place between 1691 and 1725. It should also be noted that the European population of St. Thomas was very international. In the light of the observation that the ratio between enslaved people and colonists was even 1:1 in some years, Sabino (1990) draws the conclusion that this “lack of access to the target language is not a necessary condition for creolization to take place.” She suggests that creolization took place at the end of the seventeenth century, even though the access to the target language was easy and the use of a European language as a contact language was more likely. Sabino (1990:24): “Thus the early history of St. Thomas indicates that substrate speakers would have had very good access to what must have seemed to have been a highly variable target language. Africans in Dutch households would be exposed [to] Dutch; Africans in English households would have been exposed to dialects of English; Africans in Danish household would have been exposed to dialects of Danish.”

Stolz & Stein (1986: 120) suppose that “The language must have been established by 1728 when the settling of St. Jan by planters and slaves from St. Thomas took place. This is underscored by the fact that the Moravian missionaries coming to the islands in the 1730s met with slaves that already spoke a Creole – although some of them appear to have had a good command of the Dutch language.” (Stein 1985). However, there are no sources for the use of a Creole language on St. Thomas before 1736, while, on the other hand, the use of Dutch was clearly common (Van Rossem 2013c: 244-247). Stein (p.c. 2017) notes that the use of Creole was not worth mentioning at that moment because of its universal use.

The German missionary Oldendorp writes in 1777:

‘The difference between the Creole and the latter two languages (Dutch and Low German, CvR) is in the mutilation and misplacement of words and generally in their foreshortening, which occurs primarily in the peculiar kind of alteration and adaptation of nouns and verbs. *These characteristics do not seem quite far reaching enough to cause the Creole to be considered a separate language*¹² Since, however, it is now already so well established to speak of the Creole as a separate language, it can do no harm to allow the use of that term in this context.’ (Oldendorp 1987: 251)¹³

Oldendorp seems to be commenting on lexical distinctions between the Dutch vernacular of St. Thomas, the target language of the Creole language learners, which shares features with the nascent Creole, and European Dutch. This suggests a description of a restructured variety of Dutch on St. Thomas. In the edition of the complete manuscript Oldendorp (2000: 682-683), the influence of Dutch and the

¹² My emphasis.

¹³ This quote is from the English translation of Oldendorp’s history of the Moravian mission. Note that this translation is based on Bossart’s 1777 edition, which is a summary of the original text for a European audience. In the edition of the manuscript of this history, Oldendorp (2000: 681-724), the description of the Creole language is extensive and this quote cannot be found as one single passage.

related language Low German ('Plattdeutsch'),¹⁴ is extensively discussed. See for the original text chapter 20.ch3.1.

Stolz & Stein (1986: 116) differentiate between the enslaved people who worked in town and those who worked on the plantations, among whom – according to them – only the former were exposed to the prestigious language of the European colonists. However, as I will show in the following sections, a closer look at the censuses weakens this claim: the addresses outside of the main settlement Charlotte Amalia show households with relatively small groups of enslaved people,¹⁵ and also shows that multicultural/multilingual families could be found on the entire island. This means that the difference between the exposure of the urban and rural enslaved people to the prestigious languages may have been slight, and the spread of these languages at the end of the seventeenth century was not necessarily confined to the village of Charlotte Amalie. In both rural and urban settings there might have been a need for a European-based lingua franca.

Stolz & Stein (1986: 114) present demographic information for St. Thomas during the period 1673-1754 on the basis of figures provided in Westergaard (1917). I am reproducing the relative figures below for the period 1673 to 1735, i.e. the year in which Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was first mentioned.

	1673	1680	1688	1691	1715	1720	1725	1733
Colonists	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Enslaved people	1	1.1	1.3	2.1	10.1	14.8	7.4	6.2
Alternative ¹⁶							13.8	11.3

Table 5: Ratio colonists-enslaved (Stolz & Stein 1984: 114).

The census of 1680 shows 156 *Christern* and 175 *Neggern*.¹⁷ This points to the ratio of 1 : 1.1 in Stolz & Stein (1984). However, of the 47 households, 27 do not own enslaved people, according to the census. Some households or lots consist of only

¹⁴ The nomenclature of these languages obscures the discussion. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and even later, it was common in the Netherlands to use the name *Nederduits* 'Low German' to refer to the Dutch as spoken in the Netherlands in contrast with *Hoogduits* 'High German' which was spoken in Germany. However, the local dialect of the northern part of Germany, which is spoken from Emden to Gdansk, is also referred at as *Niederdeutsch* 'Low German'. In Dutch we may come across the name *Laag Duits* 'lower German'. *Low Dutch*, which was spoken in the United States is a variety of Dutch and not of German. Oldendorp uses the names *Holländisch* for Dutch and *Plattdeutsch* for Low German to distinguish these two languages, which belong to the same language continuum.

¹⁵ In 1691 the average number of enslaved people per lot is less than 4.5.

¹⁶ Since the number of colonists after 1720 had to be estimated, Stolz & Stein used alternative calculations for 1725 and 1733.

¹⁷ Johan Lund Heinsen (Aalborg University) provided me with a photocopy of this census. The original can be found in box 366 in the archives of the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company in Copenhagen, Denmark.

enslaved people. The ratio of colonist to enslaved in the mixed households is somewhat more than 1:2.

The census of 1691 shows that enslaved Africans constituted 59% of the population. This means that in 1691 the ratio of colonists versus enslaved people was 1 : 1.5, i.e. a little lower than the ratio assumed by Stolz & Stein. Sabino (1990: 23) presents figures indicating a ratio of colonists versus enslaved people amounting to 1 : 1.3. This sort of ratio is typical of what Chaudenson (1992) calls *sociétés d'habitation*: small groups of enslaved Africans living with the European colonists, and as such, having a high degree of exposure to the European target language, as a result of which they learn that target language instead of developing a Creole language, as argued by Chaudenson (1992) for Réunion.

3.2.2 The Census of 1691

In reconstructing the origins of Afrikaans, Kloeke (1950: 229-288) resorted to the use of information on the 17th century European population at the Cape, such as surnames. His use of family names and his hypothesis of a non-native Dutch variety suggest that just counting of inhabitants does not provide enough information about language genesis. A closer look at census information is necessary to find out which (group of) speakers may have had more influence on the language situation than others.

In the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen, several so-called *landlister* are preserved, i.e. 'censuses' held on the Danish Antilles between 1680 and 1754.¹⁸ The censuses of 1686, 1688 and 1691 were used in Sabino (1990) and published on the Internet.¹⁹

The Census of 1691 is entitled:²⁰

Liste over alle St. Thomas Planters en Habitanten Vrouens Kindern en Ecslaven Als der*I*ben van D'Roijalle-Octroiieerde Deense Westindisse en guineese Compagnie aen D\WelEdle Hr. Commerciën-Rae*t* Jörgen Thormollen Ao 1691 in Februarj maent, zijnt overgelevert worden, Eer*s*t T Koonings Qvartier. 'List of all St. Thomas planters and residents women, children and slaves as of the Royal authorized Danish Westindian and Guinean company. For the honorary trade counselor Jörgen Thormollen, anno 1691 in the month February, has been handed over. First the Kings Quarter.'

It consists of two parts, of 16 and 10 double pages respectively, written in Dutch and signed by inhabitants of St. Thomas of several nationalities. An opened page consists of eight columns (see example in figure 1):

1. Names (*D'Planters met haere Vrouens, Kinderen, servinger en Negros*)
 - The enslaved Africans are mentioned in the first column after the Europeans. No precise age is mentioned for them, but a description of sex, age and 'quality' are given.
 - The maiden names of the wives are often not mentioned.

¹⁸ Rigsarkiv, the West India and Guinea Company 1671-1754, 731-749.

¹⁹ http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~caribgw/cgw_archive/usvi/vi_tax2.txt

²⁰ In March 2012 professor S. Holsoe sent me a copy of the manuscript of the 1691 census.

- The family names of adopted children are not always mentioned.
2. Year (age of the persons in years, and sometimes months)
 - Only the ages of the children are given. We do not know the ages of the adults.
3. Nation
 - In a few cases only the country of origin is mentioned, but the name of the cities, villages, province or island are often also given.
4. Religion
 - The religion of all of the European inhabitants is mentioned.
5. Profession/commerce
 - In most cases only the profession of the husband or male inhabitant of house or farmstead is given. The most frequent indication as to the inhabitants' trade is limited to the comment 'lives of his plantation'.
6. Width and length of plantation
 - Plantations are measured in feet and this is often accompanied by geographical information.
7. State of the plantation and its product
 - The state of a plantation can be (very) good, but also *nae zijn macht* 'as much as possible'. The main crop of most of the plantations is mentioned. In most cases this is cotton, but indigo and sugar can also be found in the list. In almost all cases, the owners of the plantation also grow their own food.
8. The period of use of the plantation
 - This is mentioned in years and months.

<p>2. <u>Planters met hare vrouwen, kinderen</u> <u>Compagnie en Negeren</u> <u>Thomas James Olsen</u> <u>James Olsen</u> <u>Margriet & kinderen</u> <u>Thomas</u></p>	<p>1 <u>Reijer</u> 1 <u>Niemesen</u> 1 <u>ochelien</u> 1 <u>Wierdijfel</u> 1 <u>Reijer</u> 1 <u>Thomas</u> 1 <u>idito</u></p>	<p>met 2 <u>klanten</u> <u>Planters</u> <u>Planters</u> <u>Planters</u> 12 <u>manne</u> <u>een</u> <u>broek</u> <u>en</u> <u>laarsen</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> 1 <u>Langhe</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> 1 <u>Reijer</u> <u>100</u> <u>voet</u> <u>en</u> <u>laarsen</u> 1 <u>broek</u> <u>30000</u> <u>en</u> <u>voet</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> 1 <u>Langhe</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> 1 <u>Reijer</u> <u>100</u> <u>voet</u> <u>en</u> <u>laarsen</u> 1 <u>broek</u> <u>30000</u> <u>en</u> <u>voet</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> 1 <u>Langhe</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> <u>en</u> <u>huid</u> 1 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Figure 1: Example of one double page of Census 1691.

52 II. Methodology and starting points

In total, 127 lots are listed, of which some are used as a plantation but are not inhabited. Those lots are spread over 17 locations, neighborhoods, from *West eijnd*, in the west of St. Thomas to *Oost Eijnde* in the east. Not all locations can be found on recent maps.

According to this census, St. Thomas had 389 free European inhabitants and 562 enslaved people, of whom 5 were Amerindian. We presume that the Census of 1691 is complete, but some people may not have been included in the list. There are also plantations where the only inhabitants listed were enslaved people. In some cases there is no name of an overseer or servant. Some plantations are listed with their heirs, but it is unclear whether these heirs, in some cases young children, actually lived here.

The information presented in the census is very clear. In the next sections I will argue that the following conclusions may be drawn from it.

1. Family names can be used to trace heritage, and the possible language or dialect, of the colonists.
2. Migration within the Caribbean was common and the number of West Indian Europeans on St. Thomas was considerable. Their use of language must have been important.
3. The geographic spread of colonists shows neighborhoods with dominant European populations, which may suggest a preference for their European languages in these areas.
4. The composition of families presents information about the language situation.
5. Since information about age, origin and possible adoption is available, the role of children of European descent played in the genesis of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole can be studied closely.

3.3 Origin of the colonists

3.3.1 Nations in the census

In 1688 the national origin of almost all inhabitants is mentioned and, in 1691 even the country, town or region of origin of almost all colonists is presented. The combination provides a fairly complete insight into the origins.

St. Thomas had 389 inhabitants of European ancestry, 174 adults and 215 children. Of them 30%, 97 adults and 21 children, were born in Europe. 46% of the 389 inhabitants, 77 adults and 100 children, were born in the West Indies (excluding St. Thomas). 94 Children (24% of the Europe-related ones) were born on St. Thomas. This means that 70% of all Europeans were born outside of Europe and that 55% of the entire group of colonists was labeled as a child.

Most of the Caribbean Europeans were from the following islands: St. Eustatius (85, 31%), St. Kitts/Christopher (25, 9%), St. Maarten (18, 7%), Tortola (10, 4%). Other Caribbean countries from which immigrants entered St. Thomas are, in descending order: Nevis, Antigua, Curaçao, Montserrat, Martinique, Anguilla, Tobago, Surinam, St. Croix, Saba, Guadeloupe, Brazil and Barbados.

The use of the name *Dutch Antilles* in earlier publications about the history of the Danish Antilles, is problematic. St. Eustatius (often labeled a ‘Dutch’ colony) was the most important place of origin of the St. Thomas colonists in the relevant

period, but it is somewhat anachronistic to link islands firmly to a specific European nation. The Dutch were also present as traders on islands which are nowadays seen as linked to other European countries, such as Tortola. Alongside that, as we see in the censuses of St. Thomas, migration between the islands was not uncommon. See for instance the Rhein family in figure 1. Their eldest daughter Maria was born on St. Christopher in 1661; they may have fled during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664-1665) to St. Eustatius, where their son Jannes was born in 1684. In 1686 they were present on St. Thomas where their two youngest children were born.

The majority of colonists originating from Europe came from the Netherlands (including Flanders): 49 (42%). The other countries from which colonists originated are, in descending order: Denmark (23, 19%), France (13, 11%), England (12, 10%), Germany (7, 6%), Ireland (7, 6%), Norway (2, 2%), America (2, 2%), and Portugal (1, 1%). Of the only two freed people, the husband, Bolton, seems to come from *Craballi*, which seems to be a deformation of the name *Calabari* (located in the Niger Delta, Nigeria). The provenance of his wife, Maria, is unclear: Her place of origin is referred to as *Negerland* (see Sabino 2012: 25).²¹

An interesting remark about the national origin of the inhabitants is made in Westergaard (1917: 61): “On Heins’²² death in October, 1689, two deputies from each of the ‘nations’ on the island (Danish, Dutch, French, and possibly German) elected him²³ vice-governor to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants.” It seems as if the inhabitants of St. Thomas, despite of the intense mutual contact with one another, were still aware of their distinct European backgrounds when it came to representation. However, intercultural marriages were common: Heins’ widow, who was Dutch, from Vlissingen, married the new governor, Lorentz, in 1691.

The provenance of the enslaved people remains unclear. Five Amerindians are mentioned, with no remarks about their places of birth. No place of birth is mentioned for any other enslaved people. We may suppose that most of them were born in Africa, but their ages also suggest that some must have been born on St. Thomas. In section 3.6.1 I will focus on their age.²⁴

3.3.2 A closer look at the origin of the European families

While the 1691 Census is very precise about the places of origin, other information about the places of origin, as I will show in section 3.3.3, can be obtained from surnames. The combination with the provenance of the family names presents data which may indicate a certain heritage dialect, as information about provenance alone may not be reliable.

Although St. Thomas was a Danish colony, only 19% of the European colonists in 1691 were Danes. These were from very different parts of Denmark: the cities of

²¹ Sabino (2012: 58) “Place of origin for free and indentured persons is indicated in the Land Lister for 1680 and 1686, but not in the Land Lister of 1691.” This is not correct, as can be seen in my examples.

²² Governor of St. Thomas 1686-1687, 1687-1688.

²³ John Lorentz, born in Flensburg (Danish until 1864).

²⁴ The provenance of the enslaved people is dealt with in Sabino (2012: 64-65). She uses, among other sources, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces>, to find out more about the African origin of the enslaved ones, and thus about their African languages.

Aabenraa, Aarhus, Fridericae (Fredericia), Copenhagen, Nykøbing, Roskilde, Wilster (now North Germany) and Landskrona (now Sweden), and the areas of Jutland, Langeland, Skåne (now Sweden), and Småland (now Sweden).

It cannot be ruled out that the colonists from the southern Danish cities spoke Low German, a dialect of German, which is mutually intelligible with spoken Dutch from the eastern provinces of the Netherlands. In the southern part of modern Sweden, Danish was spoken during the Danish occupation.²⁵

About 42% (49) of the entire group of European colonists consisted of Dutch people. Some came from the province of Holland: Amsterdam (6), Den Haag (1), Dordrecht (1), Leiden (1) or just 'Hollandiae' (1). Some came from the province of Gelderland (5) or its most important city Nijmegen (1).

The bulk of Dutch colonists came from the southern part of the Netherlands: Brabant (3), Vlaanderen (3), Antwerpen (1), Bevernam²⁶ (1) or Vlissingen (17). It is unclear whether Vlissingen was the place of origin or the place of embarkation. In analogy to the other places, I consider it to be the place of origin.

3.3.3 Surnames as a signpost

Surnames have not often been used to trace the provenance of a lexifier language, especially in research concerning names and languages in their seventeenth century versions.²⁷

There are at least two important methodological issues: the spelling or orthography of the names and the difference between systems of naming.

In the name lists I used, the spelling is hardly systematic. Names are written down as they were pronounced. In 1691 the language of the census is Dutch (in 1688 Danish), which often leads to Dutch spelling and/or pronunciation of foreign names. Genealogical information and comparison between lists presented enough information to find out which name was actually meant, however. For instance the name *Wolkersen*, which was used in the first list of inhabitants, was also spelled as *Folekers* and *Volkers* with regard to the same person. The name *Zigereth* was also spelled as *Segijreth* and *Siejoreth*. In these cases I searched for all varieties in the databases I consulted.

Two systems of naming are used in the censuses: the patronymic system and the one in which all generations share the same family name. Especially in the case of the patronyms (which were often used in the Danish census of 1688), genealogical information was also necessary to find out the origin or provenance of the persons involved.

In several countries the geographical distribution of family names is made accessible by websites. These sites show present day distribution, but may also show

²⁵ Today's Swedish dialects from that region still show some Danicisms in lexicon and phonology.

²⁶ Probably Beernem, near Brugge, in which village some roads with the word *Beverhout* (surname of one of the colonists) can be found.

²⁷ I acknowledge the help here of R. Rentenaar and A. Marynissen.

the core area of origin of a family²⁸ as these areas show a much higher frequency of the related family name.

As an example I use the first list of European inhabitants of St. Thomas (published in Knox 1852: 247-248), see 20.ch3.3. In the first column the names are presented in the same order as Knox presents them, in the second column variants of the family names in other censuses are shown, and in the third column the origin of the person as presented in a census is given.

For 16 names (about 30%), we know from other sources, like the censuses of 1688 or 1691, that they have a Dutch origin (printed bold). For about 9 (17%) we suspect that they have a Dutch origin, but other sources are not clear about that (printed in italics, related names presented between parentheses).

The orthography of the family names differs in almost every census. The combination of first and last name, however, presents enough information to clarify backgrounds. I used several websites, see 20.ch3.2: Internet sites family names, to find out which territory the names are used in today. In some cases, the website provides the possibility of travelling back in time. Rentenaar and Marynissen (p.c.) confirmed the idea that the current distribution and appearance of family names shows similarity to that in the seventeenth century. Eggert (2009) presents an example with regard to the Danish family names Jens/Jensen, Hans/Hansen and Rasmus/Rasmussen, of which the distribution has hardly changed in 200 years.

The following family names in the list in 20.ch3.3 can be pinpointed to the southern part of the Netherlands, Zeeland, West Flanders or the northern part of Flanders: *Saman*, *Bastiansen*, *Van Campenhout*, *Deval* (*De Wael*) and *Cloet*.

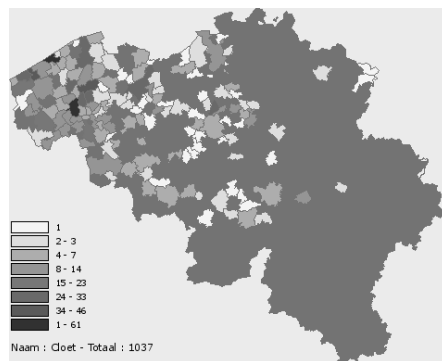


Figure 2: Distribution of family name *Cloet* (source: familienaam.be)

Other lists show the following surnames which can be attributed to the south of the Netherlands and the northwest of Flanders: *Cornelis*, *David*, *Delicaet* (Flanders and Rotterdam), *De Puy* (*Depuis*, French Flanders)²⁹, *De Vos* (*Devos*), *Huijsse(n)*,

²⁸ The website <http://sprog museet.dk/navne/personnavnegeografi> shows that, for at least some names, the present day distribution is identical to that of about 200 years ago.

²⁹ The name *Du Puy/Depuis* is also interesting because it was translated into Dutch *Van Buy* in the census of 1692/93. This name does not exist as such in the Netherlands, or in Belgium. This may point to the importance of Dutch as the vernacular language among colonists.

Leducq (Belgium and French Flanders), *Sorgeloos*, *Stallert*, *Van Stel* (Zeeland), *Terling*, *Timmerman* (everywhere, but with its center in the north of West Flanders), *De Windt*, *Van Wonderghem* (Walcheren, Zeeland).³⁰

In 1947 only one person with the family name *Cloet* was counted in the Netherlands. Today their number is too small to map. Above we see the distribution of the name in Belgium in 1998 (figure 2).

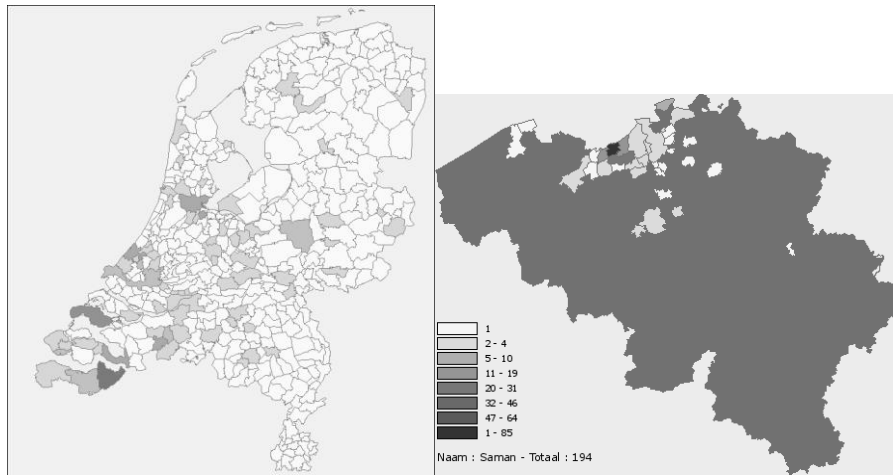


Figure 3: Distribution of family name *Saman*, left: The Netherlands, right: Belgium (sources: www.cbgefamilienamen.nl/nfb, familienaam.be)

Consider now figure 3. On the left we see the distribution of the name *Saman* in the Netherlands in 2007, and right the distribution in Belgium in 1998. In 1947 70% of all Dutch bearers of the name *Saman* were living in Zeeland.

Another interesting matter related to names is the origin of the surname *Magens*. This Danish name, which happens to be the surname of the author of the first printed grammar of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (*Magens* 1770), does not appear in data bases of current family names in Denmark, while, on the other hand, it appears quite frequently in the Holstein area of Germany, which used to be Danish until 1864. This suggests that that family was from Holstein and probably used Low German. J.M. *Magens*' family originates however from Helsingør (Dyhr 2001: 16).

The French colonists constitute about 11% (13 persons) of the island's European population according to the 1691 census. Among their surnames are: *Busseraux de Momfordt* (Calais and Nantes),³¹ *Marschal* (Lorraine), nowadays highly frequent in the area of Haut Rhin. Two persons come from Savoia, namely *D'Serwelle* (highly frequent in Alpes Maritimes) and *D'Graun*.³² For eight French colonists the place of

³⁰ I used the database of the Meertens Instituut, which includes the frequency of names in 2007 and also in 1947. All of the digital databases that I used are presented in 20.ch3.2: *Internet sites family names*.

³¹ This surname cannot be retrieved from the database of French family names.

³² This name does not appear in the onomastic database.

origin is described broadly as 'France'; however, the main area of provenance of the French names appearing in earlier name lists seems to have lain in northern France.

The places of origin mentioned for the German colonists comprise Lübeck, Lunenburg (Lüneburg), Halberstadt, Pommern, and Westfalen. A closer look at their surnames reveals more: *Blanck* (Pommern) and *Hinrichsen* (from Lüneburg) appear to be highly frequent in Holstein, while *Siegbert* (Halberstadt) seems to originate near the northern Dutch border, suggesting that they were speakers of Low German.³³

The reliability of indications regarding places of birth is questionable in some cases. For instance the often mentioned 'origin' *Vlissingen* may simply refer to the place of embarkation. This applies to the German Simon Luck, whose nation is described as Vlissingen, even though we know from earlier records that he is from Mecklenburg. His wife was Dutch, but from Tortola. Her maiden name, *Wads*, may originate in the south of Holland or in the region around Antwerp (spelled *Wats*).

3.4 Geographical spread across St. Thomas

Stolz & Stein (1986: 116) distinguished the enslaved Africans living in towns from those from plantations, suggesting the enslaved people in towns and households were in closer contact with the colonists' language. Since the information from the censuses shows that, at least in these early years of the colony, many plantations were not densely populated. The closer contact between colonist and enslaved African could therefore also have occurred outside the town of Tappus/Charlotte Amalie. The 1691 census of St. Thomas presents a closer look at geographical spread of both enslaved people and colonists. The island is divided into seventeen communities or areas:

1. Koonings Quartier 'King's Quarter'
2. West Eijnd 'West End'
3. Swarte Punt 'Black Point' [nowadays near Black Point Road, West of Charlotte Amalie]
4. Leeger Baij 'Lower Bay' [today's Brewers Bay?]
5. Krum Baij 'Krum Bay'
6. Noorden van Erasmus Baij 'North of Erasmus Bay'
7. Erasmus Baij 'Erasmus Bay' [later Grigri or Gregory Bay?]
8. J. D'Windt 'J. de Windt'
9. Noort van J. D'Windt 'North of J. de Windt'
10. Friedrichs Haven 'Fredriks Harbour'
11. Orcaen baij 'Hurricane Bay' [today's Careening Cove on Hassel Island]
12. Fransmans Baij 'Frenchman's Bay' [today's Frenchman's Bay]
13. D'Lang Baij 'The Long Bay' [today's Long Bay]
14. T Dorp Charlotta Amalia 'The Village Charlotte Amalia' [today's Charlotte Amalie]
15. Noor't aen Dorp 'North of Village'

³³ Although the Siegbert family is from Halberstadt in the Harz, the surname is most frequent in Emsland and Steinfurt.

58 II. Methodology and starting points

16. Nieuw Qvarteer 'New Quarter'
17. Oost Eijnde 'East End' [today's East End]

The geographical spread of the neighborhoods from 2 to 17 is, in most cases, listed in order from the west to the east of St. Thomas.

My hypothesis is that the concentration of nationalities is of importance for the development of a regional language, since dominant nationalities may have played a dominant linguistic role. The most densely populated neighborhoods are on the eastern side of the island: 11, 14, 15, 16 and 17. About 279 colonists and their children lived here. The Dutch constituted a majority here which may suggest that these neighborhoods formed the cradle of the lexifier version of Dutch.

Table 6 shows the ratio of colonists to enslaved people (adults and children), the percentage of all enslaved people, the dominant origin of the colonists and the percentage of these colonists in each neighborhood. As can be seen in this table, in areas with a much smaller population, which were also somewhat isolated, languages other than Dutch were dominant. Travelling across the island took quite some time, a trip from Neu Herrnhut, north east of Charlotte Amalia to Bordeaux on the northwestern side of the island took three hours, which is much more than the one-hour's-walk radius used to indicate the influence of a local dialect in the Netherlands, before modern transportation was available (Hoppenbrouwers 1990: 16). Because of this radius, which suggests there was hardly any regular conversation between speakers from separate neighborhoods, it is conceivable that the European languages that dominated neighborhoods did not spread across the entire island.

Other interesting neighborhoods were d'Lang Baij and Erasmus Baij, where no Dutch families lived among the English and Danish families respectively. It seems unlikely to me that Dutch was used here, except as a lingua franca used to speak to people from outside the neighborhood.

		<i>Ratio colonist - enslaved</i>	<i>Total enslaved on St. Thomas³⁴</i>	<i>of on Europeans</i>	<i>Dominant nationality</i>
1.	Koonings Qvartier	1:1.5	12, 2.1%		Danish 57%
2.	West Eijnd	1:1.4	11, 1.9%		English 75%
3.	Swarte Punt	1:2.5	5, 0.9%		
4.	Leeger Baij	1:0.3	2, 0.4%		
5.	Krum Baij	1:0.5	8, 1.4%		French 60%
6.	Noorden van Erasmus Baij	1:0.1	2, 0.4%		English 53%
7.	Erasmus Baij	1:2.2	29, 5.1%		Danish 50%
8.	J. D'Windt	0:37	37, 6.5%		Dutch owner

³⁴ Absolute numbers per neighborhood, followed by percentage of the total number of enslaved people on St. Thomas.

9.	Noort van J. D'Windt	1:1.8	23, 4.1%	
10.	Friedrichs Haven	1:1.4	20, 3.5%	
11.	Orcaen baij	1:2.7	79, 14%	Dutch 63%
12.	Fransmans Baij	1:0.9	8, 1.4%	
13.	D'Lang Baij	1:1	5, 0.9%	
14.	T Dorp Charlotta Amalia	1:0.1	2, 0.1%	Dutch 67%
15.	Noor't aen Dorp	1:0.4	25, 4.4%	Dutch 69%
16.	Nieuw Qvarteer	1:1.2	115, 20.4%	Dutch 52%
17.	Oost Eijnde	1:2.3	183, 32.2%	Dutch 55%

Table 6: Colonist – enslaved ratio and influence of nationality

3.5 The composition of the families

3.5.1 A global view

A global division of all inhabitants of St. Thomas in the census of 1691 in one average family would present us with the following composition:

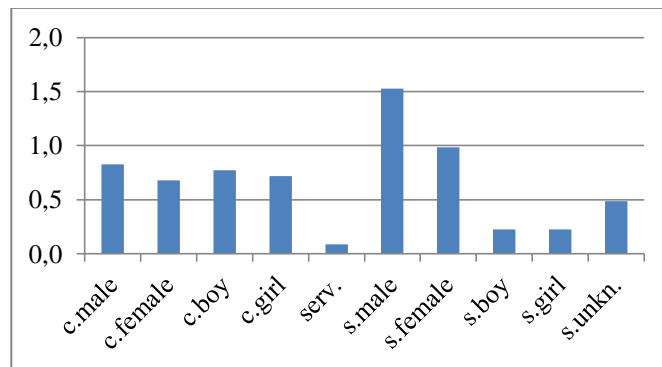


Table 7: Average family composition of a lot (c.: colonist, s.: enslaved)

This representation of an average household is based on statistics. Real households with this composition can only be found outside of 't Dorp (Taphus/Charlotte Amalie) and the east of Thomas. They consist of a European man and woman, of whom one was born in the West Indies. They have a son and a daughter, of whom one is born on St. Thomas and the other somewhere else in the Caribbean. It is possible that a European servant, born in Europe, lived at this address. Most of these average families own one or two enslaved men and an enslaved woman, often with a child. However, a closer look at the households is far more interesting than a look at the average ones.

3.5.2 *Multicultural/cross-national families*

In about 24% of all European families, the partners did not share their place of origin, or, I suspect, the language of their European homeland.

Of the other 76% of the families, the partners may have spoken the same language, but, since only 30% of all Europeans actually came from Europe, the language of the family may have undergone considerable change under influence of language contact in the Caribbean and a geographical isolation from the European homeland.

Because of the search for the possible Dutch lexifier I would like to focus on the colonists of Dutch descent. I did not investigate possible dialectal differences between the partners. Of the monolingual families, 61% is Dutch, 14% English, 10% Danish, 7% French, 2% German and for 6% I cannot detect what language is most likely to have been spoken. Families with just one parent are also included.

Since about 24% of all European families is multicultural, I suppose there was a need for a common language between the partners, a home language for the children, a contact language with the adult enslaved people and their children. Let's assume the mothers had the largest influence on the spoken language around the house meaning that their language is of great interest.

When we focus on the Dutch speaking adult females/mothers, 63% has a Dutch speaking adult partner. For another 4% of all Dutch women I assume that their husband is Dutch speaking, but I have too little information to be sure. 17% of all women of Dutch origin live alone with their child(ren) and enslaved people. In these cases I suppose Dutch to be the dominant language in the family. About 10% of all Dutch speaking adult females is linked to an English-speaking husband (with English or Irish origin). Other transnational relations are with Danish or French husbands.

Only in 8% of all families with Dutch male adults are multicultural: 4% of Dutch husbands have an English wife, 2% have a French wife and 2% have a Norwegian wife.

Several households have adopted orphans. In some cases the ancestry is clear, as their family names were included in the census. There are, however, some cases in which the children get the family name of their foster parents. It is not unusual for the adopted children to not share national origin or language with their foster parents. These adoption practices may well have contributed to a Dutch *lingua franca*.

The nationality of persons born in the West Indies is not bound to the ruler of the island in question. It is possible that alleged speakers of Dutch originate from English/French St. Kitts, speakers of English from Dutch St. Eustatius etc. A first glance at the census shows that marriages of speakers of different languages are often between two partners born in the West Indies, and rarely between someone from the West Indies and a European person. In 37% of all families (44) one of the partners is from the West Indies, in 12.6% (15) both partners are from the West Indies. In 54.4% of all marriages both partners are from the same nation. In 12.6% of all families both partners share their nation, but one partner does have a West Indian origin. With regard to Dutch, Table 8 provides some data.

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Lots</i>
Danish	WI Dutch	2
English	WI Dutch	2
WI English	Dutch	1
French	WI Dutch	3
German	WI Dutch	1
Dutch	No	11
Dutch	Dutch?	1
Dutch	English	1
Dutch	WI English	3
Dutch	WI Dutch	9
Dutch	Dutch	8
WI Dutch	No	9
WI Dutch	WI Dutch	9
WI Dutch	WI English	4
WI Dutch	Dutch	3
WI Dutch	WI French	1
WI Dutch	Danish	1
No	WI Dutch	6
no	Dutch	1
<i>Total lots</i>	<i>Dutch is spoken:</i>	76
<i>Total lots</i>	<i>All languages:</i>	120

Table 8: Inhabited lots with nationality of inhabitants

We can conclude that in 32% of all 120 inhabited lots, at least one of the adults is European Dutch; in 50% at least one of the adults is WI Dutch; in 25% both adults/parents are European Dutch and/or WI Dutch; finally 22.5% of all 120 inhabited lots had a one-parent family with a European or WI Dutch parent.

In the multicultural Bolton family, for example, in which father is English from Antigua and mother from Zeeland, all of the first names of the children can be pronounced in English and Dutch, except for the one of their son *Engel*. This is an ordinary Dutch seventeenth century first name for a boy, but in English it would be pronounced somewhat like /ENəl/. The orthography of the census suggests that it is not pronounced like E. /angel/, so I presume that this name should be pronounced as

it would have been in Dutch. The same happens in the Remi family. Father Nicolai was born in France and mother Johanne/Janneke/Jannitje on Tortola. In 1688 her origin is noted as English, but her name is spelled in a Dutch way in 1691 and in the following name lists. Their children have French first names, but the name of one of their two English stepchildren changes during the years from Johan into Jannes and then into James.³⁵

3.6 Other variables

I will now consider several other factors: age, founder effects and education.

3.6.1 Age

The age of all children and servants is mentioned, it is unfortunately not given for 82 female and 86 male colonists of European ancestry.

Table 9 gives a breakdown of the ages of Europeans:

Age	Number
Male above 18	106
Female above 18	101
Children between 10 and 18	75
Children younger than 10	116

Table 9: Age of European inhabitants

Almost half of the European population consists of children, who were of course almost always born in the Caribbean.

Ever since Bickerton (1981), attention has been drawn to the role of children. In several St. Thomas neighborhoods children below 18, and sometimes below 10, form the majority of Europeans. The age of the enslaved people was not preserved very precisely, but was still more accurate than earlier publications present in their division in adults and children (Sabino 1990, Arends & Muysken 1992). In the census of 1691 several categories are mentioned, see Table 10. Only in a few cases is a division made between boys and girls.

Children of colonists and enslaved people together constitute about 39% of all inhabitants of St. Thomas in 1691.

³⁵ In the censuses I used, children from earlier marriages of the father can only be detected by their nation (place of birth), since the mother and the children of an earlier marriage carry the same family name. Children of earlier marriages of the mother can only be detected when the children carry the family name of their father and his name can also be found in earlier censuses. In several cases the children of mother get the family name of their new father. This also holds for stepchildren and orphans who sometimes (especially when they are very young) receive their new family's name.

Age	Percentage
Old	2%
Adult	65%
Adolescent	2%
Child	18%
Small child	1%
Baby	4%
Unknown	9%

Table 10: Age of the enslaved people in 1691 (total: 561)

3.6.2 *Founder effects*

The census data show that the first ones to start plantations (in 1673) were the English (40%), the Dutch (40%) and the French (20%). From 1676 until 1682 the Danes became the largest group of plantation owners. From 1683 until 1690 the Dutch owned more plantations than colonists from other nations did, resulting in Dutch ownership of 49% (45) of all plantations (92) in 1690.

Since most of the early plantations were Dutch, there is a possibility that not only their numeral influence, but also the socio-economical one, was larger than that of other nationalities. Since these early settlers seem to have a Zeelandic/West-Flemish heritage, it is well possible that their southern Dutch or even Caribbean variety was adopted by following colonial migrants. Robin Sabino (2012: 64-67, *passim*) presents more than just historical evidence for the use of African languages, i.e. the dominance of new Kwa languages, in the Danish Antilles; however, I have not found any evidence for a founder effect with respect to these languages. We must also keep in mind that although, for instance, phonotactics in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole resemble those in African languages in the Kwa area, from 1696 on, most of the enslaved people were probably coming from Angola (Van Sluijs 2017). For further study on this subject one should consult Oldendorp (2000: 457-465), Jones (2010: 181-190) and Palmié (2010: 191-206).

3.6.3 *Education*

Another possible influence on the new language is schools (Kloeke 1950: 273, 274, *passim*). In 1688, Moses Catro, a Frenchman, whose name probably originates in Bretagne, is mentioned as a teacher, who lived on the plantation of Dina Daniels in the Orcaen Bay area, which is on today's Hassel Island. In the census of 1691, another teacher is mentioned: Catharina Cornelis, who was born on St. Maarten. Her family name suggests a Zeelandic/Flemish origin, but according to Ryberg (1945) her maiden name was Bovil, which cannot be found in family name sites, but appears to be French. In the Census of 1688 however, her maiden name is Baäl, and her origin is Hollandic. Her late husband was Boy Corneli(u)s, who may have been

born in Amsterdam (Ryberg 1945).³⁶ She lived with her baby daughter and two orphan girls (10, 8 years old) who had a Danish father and a Dutch mother. Like Catro, they lived in the Orcaen Baij area. Nothing is known about the content or frequency of the lessons nor about the number, ages or backgrounds of pupils.

3.7 Final remarks: Dutch as a koine/lingua franca?

Not all of the information from the 1691 census could be presented in this article and further research must include comparison to other censuses.³⁷ The manuscript from 1688 already shows information that has not been presented in earlier publications or websites. The difference of notation of nation was already enlightening: a place of birth does not automatically reveal your cultural background, especially when you are born on one of the windward Antilles, which were inhabited and ruled by many colonial powers.

However, I have argued that the 1691 Census shows an interesting picture of the St. Thomas colonial society. It is cross-national, with lots of colonists from Europe and, especially, from the West Indies. Dutch-origin colonists often had a Zeelandic/Flemish background, even when their place of birth was in the Caribbean. Multicultural marriages are common, orphans are adopted into families with different European backgrounds, widows and widowers marry new partners with other European backgrounds. Although the age of the enslaved Africans is not as precisely presented as that of the Europeans, it is evident that there were many young people in the colony. Across St. Thomas several neighborhoods had their own, sometimes, Dutch-related, identity.

The information presented here suggests a situation in which Dutch may well have been used as a *lingua franca* among the colonists, within families and neighborhoods, between partners and with children.

The use of the term *lingua franca* suggests that a more or less standard Dutch was used in this society. Contemporary Dutch sources, even the non-formal ones, show a writer's jargon containing hardly any dialectal influence. However, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole not only shows a substantial number of content words which can easily be traced back to the north of Flanders and the south of Zeeland, but also presents dialect related function words which must have been used in daily vernacular (Van Rossem 2000). I cannot imagine a situation in which elementary function words could obtain a key position without being present in daily communication situations. The nicest example of this is the use of the pronouns *sender* '3PL'³⁸ and *jender* (2PL) which are only present in the dialect of the north of Western Flanders, but which I have never seen in any Dutch written source from that period, regardless of situation, area or person.

³⁶ The family name *Cornelis* appears to be quite Zeelandic in the Dutch census of 1947. In Belgium this name is widespread, but shows a concentration in the north of Flanders.

³⁷ Victoria O'Flaherty (National Archives St. Kitts) showed me the 1678 census of St. Kitts (Anonymous 1912: 68-77) in which there were only 19 Dutch people, whilst there were 1436 enslaved people, and 187 Irish, 359 French and 1322 English colonists. A study comparable to mine, based on surnames of the colonists and their parishes, might have escaped my notice.

³⁸ Hinskens & Van Rossem (1996)

Perhaps I may assume, without having seen a written source or metalinguistic comments, that Dutch as spoken on St. Thomas in the period of emergence of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was indeed Windward Dutch, a reduced/dialect colored variety of European Dutch: a *koine*.

I hypothesize that this language was the target language for the enslaved Africans in the colony, and was the source of the dialectal elements in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. It may have been replaced by the Creole language Hoch Kreol as described in the 1770s (Magens 1770).

4. Uncertainty and changes in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts¹

The translators were critical and meticulous, as evidenced by their metalinguistic comments and the adjustments that they made in their texts. In this section I will focus on inconsistencies and uncertainties in early Danish Antilles texts to provide valuable information about the earliest phase of the Creole language.

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I showed that demographic information points to a regional Caribbean variety of Dutch as the lingua franca of the European community on St. Thomas. This variety should be considered the superstrate of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. However, until the 1730s no written Dutch Creole source is available. In this chapter I focus on the considerations of the first missionary and enslaved writers, and their uncertainties and inconsequent language use, to gain insight into the earliest stages of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

As far as I know, no new language has started with a stable ongoing literary tradition in which written texts are more or less linguistically consistent. Firstly, it is a condition that the earliest texts must have been preserved and since it is unlikely that texts were archived just because these were the earliest samples of a language, the samples must have been part of early texts of importance. We need to study the archived texts to find samples of the language of that we are interested in. Since samples hardly cover the entire language, conclusions about the earliest stages must be drawn from an incomplete corpus, highly colored by the sources and the writers of these texts. Extralinguistic factors, such as demography or metalinguistic comments, may suggest a particular language was used, or even widespread and important within a community, but the analysis of the variety itself relies on the written and archived sources.

Secondly, the transformation from an entirely spoken language into a written one is a process that cannot be reduced to a simple mathematical construction. Theories about new spoken languages may suggest or show the stages of emergence in which relexification and grammatical processes take place. Indeed, a written variant of a language seems to grow, just like the spoken vernacular. A grammatical system may exist in its spoken form, but the reflection of it in written texts needs implicit and explicit transformation by the author. When an author is unaware of a grammatical phenomenon, this will probably not be used in his texts.

The analysis of the emergence of a language can be blurred by the written sources in which it was delivered to us. In chapter 5 I will focus on metalinguistic comments, in chapter 6, *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles*, I will deal with the relationship between the author and his audience and in chapter 7, *The*

¹ Parts of this chapter were published in Van Rossem (2013b) and (2014c). Van Rossem (2014b) was presented at the Univerzita Karlova, Prague on October 17, 2013 during *Praagse Perspectieven 9*, organized by Zdenka Hrnčířová, Ellen Krol, Jan Pekelder and Albert Gielen, whom I gratefully thank for their warm hospitality and stimulating interest. Earlier drafts were commented on by Pieter Muysken, Robbert van Sluijs and Margot van den Berg.

writing process, I will show how mistakes made in the writing process can be separated from deliberate language improvement.

In the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, the above mentioned transformation can be reconstructed on the basis of several manuscript sources and metalinguistic comments. In this chapter I will focus on these traces in the written texts.

Stein (1985) presents a meticulous sketch of the early eighteenth century linguistic setting of the Moravian Brethren in St. Thomas. Not only does he present some slave letters which were not yet published elsewhere, but he also provides an interesting perspective on these early writings. It is obvious that the letters are not written in Creole, but inconsistencies show uncertainty of the writers. The writers use the Dutch language, often with the epistolary formulae constructions which are known to have been used in Dutch correspondence jargon. (Rutten & Van der Wal 2014: 75-128).

Stein presents one theory about the point of view that the new writers adopted as soon as they had to write down well ordered sentences. On the one hand their Dutch sentences were influenced by Creole, but on the other hand the awareness of their vernacular and its speech elements grew over time. It is unclear whether they interpreted Creole as a variety of Dutch.

After Anton Ulrich's request for the Moravian Brethren to Christianize the Danish Antilles in 1731 (see chapter 5.2), German missionaries of the Moravian Brethren started their work among the enslaved African people on St. Thomas in 1732. Initially, Dutch is used, both because the enslaved African people indicate this to be the language they want to read and write in, and also because this is the language which is considered to be the most important language of the Danish Antilles. Remember a Dutch New Testament and Dutch primers were taken along by the missionaries. As it happened, Dutch was learned by the missionaries on board the ship during the crossing of the Atlantic between the Dutch island of Texel and the Danish Antilles.² Note that, according to Oldendorp, Anton Ulrich's speech to the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut was in Dutch and that the count Nikolai Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) had to translate it into German.

Only four years after the first arrival, on 8 November 1736, Friedrich Martin refers to the Creole language of St. Thomas and the attempt of translating the New Testament. A year earlier another missionary, A.G. Spangenberg (1704-1792), had already chosen to use the Creole vernacular instead of Dutch to address the enslaved African people (Oldendorp 2002: 1, 193).³ In this early period the Moravian Brethren start their literacy education.

From the end of 1738 until February 16th 1739, Count Von Zinzendorf visits his mission on the Danish Antilles and in the beginning of February he writes a hymn to the enslaved African people, which he asks to be translated into Creole by Mingo,

² Oldendorp (2002: 1, 141 [156]): 'On this ship they, especially Friedrich Martin, were diligently learning the Dutch language.' (translation CvR). Oldendorp (1987: 308): "He [Friedrich Martin, CvR] could express himself in nothing other than the little Dutch that he had learned on the voyage to the islands (...)".

³ The fragment was first published by Stein (1982) and can also be found in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 26). In Oldendorp (2002: 157-158) we find references to earlier use of the Creole language.

one of the enslaved Africans in the mission. At the farewell ceremony, on the evening of February 15th 1739, he addressed his community with a farewell speech in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Oldendorp 2002: 1, 349sq.). In 1742 this farewell letter will become one of the first printed Creole texts, published in the *Büdingische Sammlung* (Von Zinzendorf 1742: 453-457). In this publication Von Zinzendorf's letter is accompanied by a letter by Madlena, an enslaved African woman, on behalf of all enslaved women, to the queen of Denmark in an African language⁴ and translated into Dutch Creole, and a letter in Dutch Creole by the enslaved men to the king of Denmark. Both letters are indictments of the colonists, according to Stein in Oldendorp (2002: 1, 356): one could see the first use of Creole as a 'language of diplomacy' in these two letters.

In the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut (Germany) Stein discovered about 150 slave letters from 1736-1768. The language is, as far as we can see in the letters which are published, often Dutch with Creole elements, but is sometimes also entirely Creole, like the above mentioned Zinzendorf letters. Stein did not include letters in this collection which were entirely German. In these slave letters it is often clear to see that the writer wished to write in Dutch, the lingua franca of the Danish Antilles. Since the vernacular differed from the writing conventions and language, just as was the case in European Dutch, the writer's uncertainties and inconsequent use of certain elements present an insight into the vernacular.

Stein (1985) studies these elements. In a following section I will present his conclusions and examples, along with my own, in an attempt to further understand the vernacular and bilingual practices of the writers.

It was not always common for the missionaries to use Creole. Friedrich Martin, who already started literacy education in 1736, did not master the Creole language perfectly and used Dutch in his class. The texts which were used in services and education were generally from a Dutch New Testament. Martin received this book from the first Moravian Brethren in the Danish Antilles, Dober and Nitschmann, who got it as a present from the Danish Princess Charlotta Amalia in 1732. Alongside that, Dutch ABC-booklets were used, these had been purchased from the French-German writer Isaac Le Long, who lived in Amsterdam and who had warm sympathy for the Moravian Brethren. In 1737, 133 of these booklets were distributed among the pupils, but there could have been more. Two ships, which the booklets were shipped to the Danish Antilles in, were robbed by pirates, and most of the cargo was lost.⁵

The Danish Lutheran church only started its missionary activities in 1759. Both communities or societies eventually published booklets in Creole. In 1765, more

⁴ Kea (2005: 115-136) presents a biography of Marotta/Madlena in which he suggests this language must be Aja-Ayizo, the language she learned to read and write in her childhood. Which language it actually is, is under discussion. Sebro (2010: 7-10, 43) completes Damma/Marotta/Madlena's biography.

⁵ It is interesting to see that new copies were ordered in New York and not in the Netherlands. (Oldendorp 2002: II-1, 210). H. Edelman (p.c. 11 August 2017) confirmed that Dutch grammars and other school booklets were printed in New York. According to Edelman (1974: 39, nr. 14, 1986: 49) the only Dutch grammar which was printed in the 1730s in United States is Francis Harrison, *De Engelsche en Nederduytsche School-Meester (...)* New York: 1730. Further study is needed to find out which grammars were sold in New York in the 1730s.

than 25 years after the start of education, a hymn book was published by the Moravian Brethren and in 1770, the Danish missionary society published several books, among which a hymn book, two ABC-booklets and a grammar of Dutch Creole. This grammar, by Jochum Melchior Magens (1715-1783), is the first printed grammar of a Creole language.⁶ He also translated several religious texts, including the New Testament which was published in 1781.⁷ It would take until 1802 for the New Testament by the Moravian Brethren is published.

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, English becomes more important in the Danish Antilles and the Moravian Brethren adapt the language of their mission to their audience. In a letter published in Anon. (1829: 244) Brother John Klingenberg of Friedensthal, St Croix writes:

‘In answer to your inquiry respecting the Creole or Negro English language spoken by the negroes in these islands, I beg to state that, although it is indeed true, that, among the better educated of the negroes, its use is on the decline, yet, by far the majority of the population neither speak understand any other language. In the Danish church, well as in our own, divine service is still performed in singular dialect; and, what makes it perhaps less to our ear than it would otherwise be, I may add, that those who speak it, are the most faithful and experienced members of our congregation.’

Nevertheless, in 1834 2000 copies of the Creole translation of Lieberkühn’s Gospel Harmony are distributed for free among the 9400 members of the enslaved community baptized by the Moravian Brethren on the Danish Antilles (Anon. 1836: 34). I suppose this to be an indication of the Creole still being alive among the population. In a two-part manuscript of the Moravian Brother Wied (1842-1847) we see that the text is still in Dutch Creole in 1842/1843; however, from 1847 on, all texts are in English. On the cover of this manuscript Wied wrote:

‘In den 40er Jahren des 19. Jahrh. verschwand auf den Westindischen Inseln die kreolische Sprache und wurde durch die englische verdrängt.’
(In the 1840s the Creole language disappeared in the West Indies and was supplanted by English. CvR)

4.2 The earliest texts: slave letters

Thus the earliest written documentation of the language of the enslaved African inhabitants is formed by letters. Among the first letters written by recently alphabetized enslaved members of the Moravian community, one is dated January 11, 1737 (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 74). The earliest writers are Domingo Gesoe and Peter. In Oldendorp (2002: I, 234-235) Abraham is also mentioned. Stein found seven letters of Abraham, which are obviously Dutch,

⁶ However, see Arends (2017: 255) who dates Van Dijk’s grammar of Sranan in or before 1769.

⁷ Magens’ translation of (parts of) the Old Testament is referred at in the introduction of Magens (1781), however, it was never published and the manuscript has not yet been found.

however with Creole characteristics. The text of all these earliest letters, which is, according to Stein (p.c. 2015), entirely Dutch, is unfortunately not yet published.

On the whole, there are about 150 slave letters found in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut (Germany), written between 1737 and 1768. All letters will be published in Stein & Beck (forthcoming), however, some letters have already been published elsewhere. In *Die Creol Taal* (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 49-91) Stein has published the following letters:⁸

1. 1739 Von Zinzendorf to Slave community (p. 49-64)
2. 1739 Pieter, Mingo et al. to King of Denmark (p. 64-70)
3. 1739 Madlena to Queen of Denmark (p. 70- 74)
4. 1738 Pitrus to Friedrich Martin (p. 74-77)
5. 1740/1741 Lenathge to unknown addressee (p. 77- 79)
6. 1752 Domingo Gesoe to addressees in Bethlehem Pa. (p. 80-83)
7. 1753 Cornelius to August Gotlieb Spangenberg (p. 83-86)
8. 1753 Catarina to Graav, Baas Johanes, Zuster Maria and Judit (p. 86-88)
9. Unknown date Nathaniel to unknown addressee (p. 88-89)
10. 1762 Mari Magdalene to addressees in Bethlehem Pa. (p. 89-91)

In Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996) we focused mainly on the ones written in Dutch Creole but these are not the only letters of interest. Although the enslaved African people learned to read and write in Dutch, using Dutch ABC-booklets and Dutch Bible texts, their teachers were German teachers who were L2 speakers of Dutch. Since the lingua franca of the Danish Antilles was probably Dutch⁹, we might expect Dutch letters to be written. Until this period no linguistic evidence points to the use of Dutch Creole. From the period before 1738, no texts in Dutch Creole or containing Dutch Creole elements have been found. That being said, we would expect that it was in use because of the factors not directly related to the language that we are aware of. Demographic factors, implemented in models of Creole genesis, as used in Arends & Muysken (1992) point towards a possible existence of Dutch Creole. See chapter 5 Metalinguistic comments.

The first source of evidence of a Creole being the language of the enslaved Africans writing the letters, are the inconsistencies in the Dutch letters that they wrote. These early writers are beginners in the field of writing, which means that not only the motoric process of holding a pen and using paper had to be learned, but also the knowledge of tokens, of correspondence conventions, of orthography and of grammar had to be developed. The first letters may show highly programmed texts, but when creativity of the writer increases, the need to move beyond fixed constructions grows as well. Knowledge of Dutch grammar is sufficient to write simple letters, but the more the writers know about creating a text, the more they are confronted with, and become aware of, the grammatical elements of the language they use in daily life. See Stein (1985) about this growth of awareness.

⁸ A large amount of information about this stage of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole can be found in Stein's works (especially in those from 1984, 1985a, 1989 and 1991).

⁹ Demographic and linguistic evidence points in this respect to a Caribbean variety of Dutch. See chapter 3.

In a European situation one may expect features of the vernacular, for instance elements from regional dialect or sociolect, to enter letters which are mainly constructed according to conventions of written language. In our case the enslaved African people may use elements of their vernacular, and since extra linguistic factors and metalinguistic comments indicate the existence of a Creole language, this vernacular is likely to be the Dutch Creole we see in later texts. In Stein (1985) a few sets of letters are mentioned and accompanied by linguistic comments which reveal the Creole background of the writers.

1. 1738 (Stein 1985: 440-443). The first letters by two Africans who were taught to read and write, Peter and Domingo Gesoe.
2. 1739/1742 (Stein 1985: 443-445). The so-called Zinzendorf letters which were written in 1739 and published in 1742, written by Von Zinzendorf and translated by Mingo (probably Domingo Gesoe), Madlena and Pieter et al.
3. 1740 (Stein 1985: 445). Letters written by Peter and Domingo Gesoe, also for other enslaved African people.
4. 1741 (Stein 1985: 445-448). Letters from 30 individuals, written down by three writers: Peter, Domingo Gesoe and Valentin Löhans.
5. 1752 (Stein 1985: 448-452). Letters containing formerly unused grammatical elements like TMA-markers *le* and *ka*, and introduction most important 'second generation' writer Cornelius.

4.2.1 The first letters

Stein (1985: 440) introduces the first authors of whom letters are preserved, Domingo Gesoe and Peter. These helpers of the Moravian Brethren wrote letters until the 1740s and 1750s, not only for themselves, as autograph writers, but also for others, as social or professional writers (see Rutten & Van der Wal 2014: 173-202). Of these Peter also spells his own name as Piter, Pitrus or Petrus, which draws our attention because the earliest letters are written by himself.

When on January 21st and 24th 1738 he writes his letter, he uses the language which he learned from Friedrich Martin.^{10 11}

an de Lifde broeders Maertijn De *gemijnte* en alle de broeders en *diensdag* avondt de vir broeders en de Susters en de oud man Saca *ons* hebt samen met maerkanner neder geval op de kneij om *bed an* De heere en lof de heere en *vriedag* avondt *ons* hebt an de heere wederan *Gebed* en *ons* hebt met maerkanner *GeEten* en *ons* hebt De heere *gedaanckt* Jck hebt mijn broeder *gevrag* hoe staet met zijn hert *hem* seg ben zijn hert noe wel van de heere zijn woordt Jck hebt andrijs *gevrag* hoe ben zijn hert *hen* Seg ben Zijn hert blie –Schep van De Lif des heer Maar zijn vrou kan zijn

¹⁰ In Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 74) this letter was erroneously called 'the first letter in Negerhollands'.

¹¹ Friedrich Martin noted in the margin of this letter: 'teure brider, hier ist daß erste brieflein waß broeder Petrus von seiner bande mich bericht, er hats auch selbst geschrieben.' (Stein 1985: 454). The English translation is: 'Dear brethren, here is the first little letter which brother Peter from his group reports to me, he also had written it by himself.' (CvR)

hert soo boos maken daarom *hem* ben ongesaem Joannis seg *hem* hebt soo wel
gevon-en zijn hert maer niet veel
Pitrus¹²
Vom Januari 21 und 24
1738
(italics by CvR)

The letter was published in Stein (1985: 440) and in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 74-77). In this Windward Dutch of a beginner writer we see some remarkable items:

The use of *gemijnte* ‘congregation’ seems to be German *Gemeinde* and adapted from the missionary. In Dutch this is *gemeente*.

The use of *diensdag* ‘Tuesday’ is also German. The Dutch for this is *dinsdag*. The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole form of ‘Tuesday’ is *dissendag*, which has its etymological roots in the south of the province of Zeeland and the north of Flanders (see Chapter 3).

The word *vriedag* ‘Friday’ shows the characteristics of Dutch with Zeelandic change of /Ei/ into /i./.

Pronouns *hem* ‘3SG’ and *ons* ‘1PL’ are used as subject. This is ungrammatical in Standard Dutch which would have been *hij* and *wij* (Stein 1985: 441). However, in the *Letters as Loot* corpus (Brieven als Buit 2015) we find one unclear occurrence in a letter from 1664, written in Amsterdam and addressed to Guadeloupe:¹³ Anders oock *ons ben* *...* ‘Otherwise also we are’.

In this letter, the Dutch 1SG-form *ik* is not replaced by Virgin Islands Dutch Creole form *mi*. In the following section I will go into these forms in more detail.

There is some uncertainty about correct Dutch verbal inflection: *gebed* ‘prayed’. (D. *gebeden*), *geEten* ‘eaten’ (D. *gegeten*), *gevrag* ‘asked’ (D. *gevraagd*). Stein (1985: 442) indicates that although the forms include the Dutch-like prefix *ge-*, the rest of the forms are not always standard Dutch. This shows the uncertainty of Pitrus. I suppose that this could indicate something else. All these forms look like the Dutch Creole written according to Dutch orthography, respectively *ka bed*, *ka jeet* en *ka vrag*, *ka* being the marker of the perfect tense.

The use of a final *-t*, which is required in Dutch in most 3SG-forms of the verb, except for the 1SG and 1, 2 and 3PL, is used inconsequently. See for instance *ons hebt* (3x), *Ick hebt*, where Dutch needs *wij hebben* and *ik heb*. In the *Letters as Loot* corpus (Brieven als Buit 2015) we see several occurrences of *Ick hebt* in informal letters,

¹² Translation (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 77): ‘To the dear brethren Martin, the congregation and all the brethren. One Tuesday evening the four brethren and the sisters and the old man Saca, we knelt together and prayed to the Lord and praised the Lord, and Friday evening we prayed again to the Lord and we ate together and we thanked the Lord. I asked my brother how his heart fared, and he said his heart now belongs to the word of the Lord. I asked Andrijs how his heart was and he said his heart feels the happiness of the love of the Lord, but his wife can sometimes make her heart so angry, which is why she is disobedient. Johannes says he found his heart so well, but not very much. Pitrus.’

¹³ <http://brievenalsbuit.inl.nl/zeebrieven/page/search>: To Jan de Sweerts, 2 oktober 1664.

especially in one from the South-Holland city of Leyden (5x, October 3, 1664), but also in one from Rotterdam (1x, November 1664) and Hoon (1x, 1672), in which the final *-t* often occurs in 1SG. Van Reenen (2007: 397-398) shows the possible provenance of *-t* in 1SG in Pella Dutch and indicates that the use of *-t* which does not correspond with standard Dutch, is not exclusively a result of language change in the new variant. Pitrus's use of *-t* is not likely to be related to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in which conjugation is absent, nor to the Zeelandic/West Flemish dialect which has influenced Dutch on the Danish Antilles, and which does not have *-t* in 1SG. It must have been used due to the fact that Pitrus was not familiar with Dutch conjugation.

We also observe uninflected verbs in positions where Dutch requires a *-t*: *hem seg* 'he says', Dutch *hij zegt*, which does point to uncertainty about verbal inflection. Later examples from *Letters as Loot* (Brieven als Buit 2015):

- (1) ik hebt myn volle magt dar moete laten mar myn lief ik hebt het wel nodig myn lief (Vlissingen, March 1780, to Surinam) 'I had to leave my full property (lit. 'power') there, but my love, I do need it, my dear'.
- (2) ik hebt het geheelen iaar onders doctours en apotheeckers handen geweest (Amsterdam, November 26, 1780) 'I have been under the hands of doctors and pharmacists the entire year.'
- (3) Doet De Groettenis aan mijn noom van zijn waarde zoon Gert want hij is teegenwoordig ook nog vris en gezond in Curasou want ik hebt hem mondeling gesproken (Curaçao, January 5, 1781 to Rotterdam) 'Send (lit. 'do') the greetings to my uncle of his worthy son Gert, because he is at the moment still fresh and healthy in Curaçao, because I have spoken him verbally.'

The separable compound verb *bed aan* 'to worship' reminds us of Dutch Creole in which a preposition always should follow the verbal stem rather than precede it (Stein 1985: 441sq.).

Stein (1985: 441) also mentions the use of the auxiliary *ben* 'to be, 1SG' in the 3SG-position. We would expect Dutch *is*. In dialectal varieties of Dutch *ben* can also be used in 3PL. See for instance the earlier mentioned sentence *Anders oock ons ben*. In *Letters as Loot* (Brieven als Buit 2015) eight occurrences can be found of *wij ben* 'we are' and nine of *ben wij*.¹⁴ I found only one occurrence of *ben* as 2SG:

- (4) weij hoopen dat geij nou wat beter ben als doen geij uijtveurt (Unknown, March 28, 1664) 'We hope that you are somewhat better than when you sailed'.

¹⁴ *Wij ben*: Amsterdam 1664, Vlissingen 1664, Zeeland 1665, Middelburg 1708/1780, Rotterdam (St. Eustatius) 1780, Amsterdam (Curaçao) 1781, Rotterdam (Curaçao) 1781 (2x). *Ben wij*: Curaçao 1664 (2x), Amsterdam 1672, Enkhuizen 1672 (2x), St. Croix 1780, Curaçao 1781 (2x), St. Vincent 1781. Most of the letters in the *Letters as Loot* corpus were stolen by the English navy from Dutch ships from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century. This explains why many of these letters are related to the Caribbean.

4. Uncertainty and changes in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts 75

In the following sentence we see a few occurrences of *ben* in 3PL:

- (5) sij schrieven dat al de vrinden in goede gesonheijt ben en sij schrieven dat sij seer bedroeft ben dat ul wederom wech bent op sulcken lange reijse (Middelburg, April 12, 1664) ‘They wrote that al the friends are in good health and they wrote that they are very sad that you are away again for such a long trip’.

The so-called *Gekaapte Brieven*-corpus (Van der Sijs 2012) has some occurrences of *bent* (‘to be’ 3SG), for instance:

- (6) dat daerbij s(eigneu)r Moijliues gelegert bent Js mij Lief (Hamburg 11 January 1665) ‘that Sir Moijlieus is stationed there, is dear to me’.

Standard Dutch requires *is*. Perhaps the use of the following *is*, triggered the use of *bent*.

In the same corpus we find some cases of *ik bent*:

- (7) De plantagie wel te nachteren geset ter wil jck tuijs bent geweest (Surinam, September 5, 1672) ‘The plantation well put to the back while I was at home’.
- (8) Schoon Dat ik Nogtans altoos in tweijvel Bent of het uE ter hant Sel koomen (St. Eustatius, November 11th, 1780) ‘Although I am still always in doubt whether it will be handed to you’.
- (9) doch ick in bent alleen niet maer veele met mij alzoohijer geen scheeppe en coomen (St. Kitts, January, 9th, 1665) ‘nevertheless am not alone, but many with me where no ships come’.

I only found one occurrence of *bent* in 3PL:

- (10) wij bent de neuwe jaars dag te staaes ge koomen (*Letters as Loot*, Groningen, January, 9 1781) ‘we have come to St. Eustatius on New Year’s Day’.

Stein (1985: 441) also mentions the three cases in this letter in which Pitrus uses Germanic inversion:

- (11) hem seg ben zijn hert noe wel ...
3SG say is his heart now positive (rest of sentence)
S V (V S
- (12) Ick hebt andrijs gevrag hoe ben sijn hert
1SG have Andries asked how is his heart
S V O (adv V S

- (13) hem Seg ben Sijn hert blie Schep ...
 3SG say is his heart happy.ness (rest of sentence)
 S V (V S

Since all three examples show the same words in this construction, *ben sijn hert* might well be an epistolary formula, or, to be more precise, an intersubjective health formula (Rutten & Van der Wal 2014: 114-121), though related to the mental health of the recipient. It is possible that the new writers learned these fixed constructions in order to create polite letters in a Germanic way.

On the other hand, we also see:

- (14) Joannes seg hem hebt soowel gevon-en ...
 Johannes say 3SG have soowell found (rest of sentence)
 S V (S V

Stein (p.c. 2015) added some important notes to these slave letters, which show why the letters were written in a contaminated Dutch instead of in a newly used Creole. Firstly, the enslaved African people did not write on their own. The German missionaries were always available to assist. Oldendorp (2002: 489) writes: ‘In February more than 30 blacks sent hearty letters to the municipality in Europe, of whom some wrote themselves, however most of them dictated.’¹⁵ In a following section the missionary Löhans, who acted as a writer for several enslaved African people, will be mentioned. The knowledge of the Creole language of the missionaries was limited, as we know from metalinguistic comments and so they were unable to help their pupils with this language.

We must also keep in mind that these letters were not addressed to enslaved African people, but were to be sent to Europe. Since these had to be understood in Europe, the writers were not likely not use a language which differed too much from Dutch. Stein considers this to be the reason why hardly any African words appear in the letters.

Alongside that, the writers could only use what they were actually looking for or understood. It seems, according to Stein, that at that time only someone like Oldendorp could clearly recognize linguistic structures which were strange for Europeans, like serial verb constructions, in the Creole language.

Only after 1750 one writer, again according to Stein, Cornelius, recognized Creole features like particles *ka*, *le* and *lo*, and plural marker *sender*. From that time on, these elements were used in the letters and other texts.

4.2.2 The Zinzendorf Letters

Although several enslaved African people wanted to read and write Dutch, Creole appeared to be the most important language to connect with others (Oldendorp 2002: II-1, 157-158). The spiritual leader of the Moravian Brethren, the Count Von

¹⁵ “Im Februar (1741, CvR) schickten mehr als 30 Schwarze an die Brüdergemeine in Europa herzliche Briefe, die einiger selber schrieben, die meisten aber dictierten.” (Oldendorp 2002: 489)

Zinzendorf chose to use the Creole language to address his community during and after his visit to the Danish Antilles in 1739.

On February 7th, 1739 a public meeting was organized in Carstens' house in which at least 300 African-Caribbean followers were present (Oldendorp 2002: 335, Oldendorp 1987: 360). The meeting started with a Creole hymn, composed by the count and this was followed by a Dutch speech. This hymn was translated later on into Creole by Mingo, who is possibly the same as one of the early writers Domingo Gesoe.¹⁶ In 1742 it is this text which is the first Virgin Islands Dutch Creole text to be published. The first sentence is:

- (15) Mi a kom deze verr pad, vor kik yoe, en
 1SG PST come this far path to see 2PL and
- bin bly vorkik een begin, dat mi a wens
 am happy to see a beginning that 1SG PST wish
- over ses jaar di tit mi a Stier die eerste
 over six years then 1SG PST send the first
- van mi broeders voor leer yoe-Li.
 Of my brethren to teach 2PL

In (15), which is in Creole, several typical Creole elements can be seen that are not like (Caribbean) Dutch: conjugation of verbs with tense particles (*a* indicates past tense), the use of the universal preposition *voor* (see Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XVII), meaning '(in order) to', pronouns which have the same form in all functions (for instance *mi* as subject) in subject position) and a required SVO-order.

To give an idea of why Von Zinzendorf wanted to translate the text, we need to refer to Oldendorp's *Mission History of the Danish Antilles*. In this extensive work, he not only includes quite a full description of the Creole language of these islands (Oldendorp 2000: 681-724), but he also often presents metalinguistic comments. He is clear about the relation between Dutch and Dutch Creole:

'One could believe that the one who knew Dutch, therefore also understood Creole or was in the position to grasp it soon, because it has so many words from that language. However, many examples, which I have heard or have seen myself, prove the contrary. Some have said it themselves, and I have noticed with them, that their Dutch was more a hindrance than a help for learning the Creole.' (Oldendorp 2000: 712)¹⁷

¹⁶ Oldendorp (2002: 375).

¹⁷ Original text: Man sollte aber glauben, wer *Holländisch* könnte, verstände deswegen auch *Criolisch* oder wäre doch im Stande, es bald zu fassen, weil es von jener Sprache so viele Wörter hat. Allein viele Beispiele, die ich teils gehört, teils selber gesehen habe, beweisen das Gegenteil. Einige haben es selber gesagt, und ich habe es auch bei ihnen bemerkt, daß ihnen ihr *Holländisch* zur Erlernung des *Criolischen* mehr hinderlich als förderlich war.

It is clear: to understand Creole, knowledge of Dutch vocabulary is helpful, but when you want to master it, you will be tempted to also use Dutch grammar and inflection. In this last case, speakers of Dutch Creole will not understand you.

According to Oldendorp, the variety spoken by the urban, colonist population, is more graceful because of the adapted Dutch words and constructions, however, Creole is best learned from the Caribbean-African people and to truly understand them, you will need a translator. At that time, colonial Dutch had lost its role as the language of the mission.

So in 1739 Von Zinzendorf deliberately wanted to translate his speech into Dutch Creole. This language was then already used among missionaries and their new community members. Oldendorp mentions Mingo as the translator of this speech. It is obvious that the translator wanted to translate the text as well as possible, however, several inconsistencies give an idea about language use within the community of Moravian Brethren in 1739. There are about twenty differences between the original Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscript of the speech and the version which was printed three years later.¹⁸

Some of these differences (for example *grot* (l.25) instead of *groot* ‘great’, *aas* (l.29) instead of *as* ‘as’, *vede* (l.36) instead of *rede* ‘reason’, *jaj* (l.47) instead of *jag* ‘chase’) are most likely to be printing errors. In two cases the combination of a so-called long *s* with a *t* is interpreted wrongly as *H* (*Herr* (l.63) instead of *sterv* ‘sterven’, *Hell* (l.104) instead of *stell* ‘to put’).

There are also adjustments which have greater consequences. In a few cases it seems as if the printed version had to become more like Dutch than the manuscript. In l. 58 the word *vo* is changed into *vor* ‘voor’, while the manuscript version shows that *voor* was changed into *vo*. The omission of the *r* in *for* ‘in order to’ appears in the twentieth century variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, but also in other Atlantic Creole languages like Sranan: *fu*. In l. 140 the informal, vernacular form *liee* is changed into *liede* ‘personen’.

In l. 45 of the printed text, two words are omitted which often appear in the manuscript. The construction *klag yoe aan* is adjusted to *klag yoe* ‘bring charges to you’, >D. *aanklagen*) and with regard to *den Heere* ‘the Lord’ the article is left out.

The Dutch-like construction *ik fin* ‘I consider (it)’ (l.56) in the manuscript is changed into Creole *i* (*die* ‘this’) *bin* ‘it is’. The use of pronouns, in this case *ik* ‘1SG’ is the clearest indication of indistinctness about the right practice. In two of the three Caribbean Dutch related Creole languages, Skepi Dutch and Berbice Dutch, the 1SG is *eke*, which is obviously etymologically related to Dutch *ik*, or vernacular *ikke*). In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, however, we find *mi*. In contrast to newer texts by other translators, we do see inconsequent use of the 1SG pronoun in Von Zinzendorf’s text, *ik* and *mi* are used interchangeably. The form *ik*, which can

¹⁸ This text, accompanied by glosses and English translation can be found in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 49-64). The line numbers are from this edition. Unfortunately not all differences between the manuscript and the printed version were entered in this version. However, these are present in the digital version which is included in the Clarin-NEHOL corpus.

only be used in the subject position, appears seven times, while *mi* has eleven appearances, eight of which are in the subject position.

The use of the preposition of the 2PL is also problematic for the translator. In the manuscript *yoe-liden* (l.47) is already changed into *yoe-lid* 2PL. However, in the text we see several synonyms: *yoe* (l. 88), *yoe-Li* (l. 81), *gy* (l. 84), *gy-Li* (l. 136) and *ginder* (l. 85, 87). The word *gu* (l. 59) is probably a printing error, because in the manuscript we find *gy*. When the word *gu* was the correct form, and when it was pronounced with a sliding, soft /x/, like Dutch /j/, it could be Creole, namely like the 2SG *joe*.

The preposition for 3PL, *sender*, has been noticed by several researchers. In Hinskens & Van Rossem (1996) its linguistic origin and grammatical functions were inventoried. The geographical origin can be quite precisely identified, namely between the cities of Oostende, Brugge and Vlissingen, in the north of Western Flanders. In this area the pronoun for 3PL was /zIndər/ or /zi.dər/ (RND, sentence 66). In addition, the pronoun can also be used as plural marker *die man sender* means ‘the men’, lit. ‘DET¹⁹ man 3PL’. According to Magens (1770) *sender* was a vernacular variant, whereas the synonym *sellie* was used by the urban colonial upper class. Both words can be found in several different orthographies.

In Von Zinzendorf’s letter both *sinder* (l. 118) as *zinder* (l. 52) appear, next to *sillie* (l. 34). As possessive pronoun, next to *zinder*, we also find *sin* (l. 78). So two variants from two different lects appear next to each other. The word *sender* is used most frequently in the rest of the Clarin-NEHOL corpus. De Josselin de Jong (1926: 99) found many variants of *sender* during his fieldwork in 1923: *sendr*, *senr*, *sinr*, *sinə*, *seni*, *sini*, *sinu*, *zinə*, *si*, *se* and *sa*. Only a reduced form of *Sellie*, in the form of *sel*, hardly appears anymore.

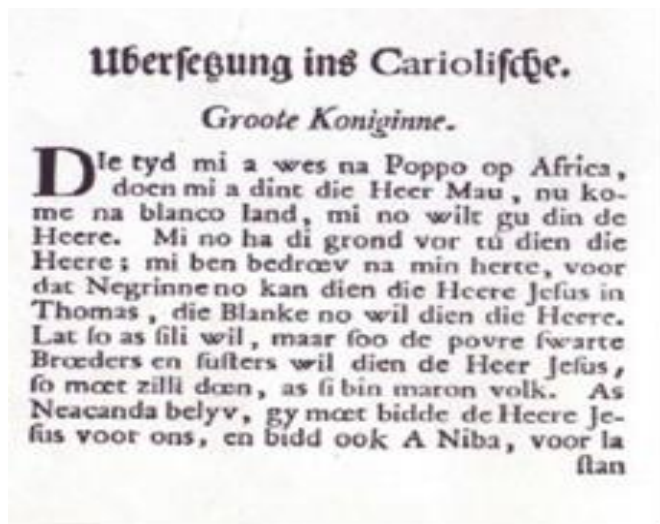


Figure 1: Fragment from the Madlena letter in Von Zinzendorf (1742: 485).

¹⁹ Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *die* can be used as an article or a demonstrative.

In the letter written by Madlena on behalf of all female enslaved African people to the Queen of Denmark, which is published together with Von Zinzendorf's speech (Von Zinzendorf 1742: 485-487), the forms *sili* (l. 23), *zilli* (l. 25) and *sinder* (l. 32 and 34) appear next to *si* (l. 25), which is possibly derived from Dutch *zij* '3PL', but could also be a reduced form of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *sender* or *sellie*.

As well as the doubts about the use of the pronoun, other inconsistencies can also be seen in Figure 1. Madlena not only uses preverbal *no* as a negation: *mi no wilt gu din de Heere* 'I do not want to serve the Lord good'; in both Von Zinzendorf's letter and in the letter of the male enslaved Africans to the King of Denmark the Dutch post verbal *niet* also appears: *Neeger moet niet zalig worden* 'Negroes must not become holy' (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 66).

4.2.3 From first steps into a tradition (1740 and 1741)

In 1740 we find letters of only two writers, Peter and Domingo Gesoe (Stein 1985: 445), however, they act as writers for twelve senders. In the next year we find 32 letters, all translated into German, in the above mentioned BÜdingische Sammlung. Stein (1985: 445) concluded that the actual writers were Peter (6 letters), Domingo Gesoe (4 letters) and the German missionary Valentin Löhans (20 letters).²⁰ Peter's letters show Dutch structures. Three of Domingo Gesoe's letters appear to be genuine Creole.

The most interesting conclusion that Stein draws comes from his observation of Löhans' language use. In two of his letters Dutch dominates, while all others seem to be Creole. This could be an indication that missionaries changed their language of instruction from Dutch into Creole.

In the German translations in the BÜdingische Sammlung, we still find some elements which point to Creole or Dutch:

Letter	Sender	Creole/Dutch item
1	Gehasi (from Hanss Class)	<i>Pardon</i> 'to excuse'
2	Class	<i>Fuss-Banck</i> 'footstool', metaphor of 'servant to rely on' ²¹
3	Katje (from Koop)	<i>Fuss-Banck</i> , see above
9	Johann (from Posaunenberg)	<i>Heers Toetoe</i> . Toetoe is, like in Sranan, the Creole word for 'horn' and so this name seems to be the Creole version of Dutch <i>Basuynenberg</i> 'trumpet mountain' and German <i>Posaunenberg</i>
14	Maecha (from Jan de Wind)	<i>nun nun</i> . This seems the Germanized form of the Creole word <i>noenoe</i> 'now'

²⁰ I have not seen the original letters myself. Of these letters, two were published by Stein (1985: 446). The German translations were published in Von Zinzendorf (1742: 600-621).

²¹ Class is from plantation Hüttenthal. This looks German, but is in fact a Germanism of *Uyttendael*, the Flemish surname which already appears in the earliest censuses.

18	Anna (one of the first baptized enslaved Africans, from the Compagnie)	<i>Assurant</i> . This word, meaning ‘cheeky, rude’ is printed in another font. This Dutch word is normal in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole vocabulary.
20	Zybeja (from Hans Classen)	This word is accompanied by the following remark: Bass bedeutet Meister: zie tituliren ihre Herren also. ‘Bass means master: they name their masters like this.’

Table 1: Creole/Dutch in German translations *Büdingische Sammlung*

The 15th letter, by Lenathge (from Hanss Class), is in Löhans’ handwriting (Stein 1985: 446, letter V). The subject pronouns are used consistently and all markers of past tense are marked as parts of the following verb:

- (16) Mi a*was en arem verloren Mensch,
 1SG PST*was a poor lost human being
 nu mi*a*kom fin de heijland sein blut.
 now 1SG*PST*come find DET savior his blood

The possessive pronoun is sometimes still Dutch-like, *sein* ‘his’, while later on in Creole *si* is good practice. The Dutch article *de* is used, which will be replaced by *die*, (>D. demonstrative *die* ‘that’) later on.

Typical Creole features which can be observed in this letter are the use of *vor* ‘in order to’, preverbal negation, multipurpose preposition *na* and reduplication:

- (17) Mi *a*was so lang dit vor hor de here sein wort
 1SG *PST*was so long this FOR hear the Lord his word
- (18) Mar mi nu a*frag na die
 however 1SG NEG PST*ask NA that
- (19) Da mi a*krisch na em bardon*bardon.
 DA 1SG PST*cry NA 3SG pardon*pardon

In example (19) *bardon*bardon* could have been interpreted as crying out the same word two times, but the connective asterisk indicates a link between the words. See Stein (1985: 446-448) for the further analysis of these letters.

4.2.4 Start of a new generation of writers (1752)

Stein (1985: 448-451) continues his analysis of letters from the year 1752, not because no letters were written in the intermediate years, but because this year marks a new step in the awareness of Creole features and the use of them in letters. Two factors might have been of influence.

In this year letters were sent to the mission in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Since these letters were not meant to be read by Europeans, the African Brethren might have chosen to use a more Creole, vernacular variant instead of a more Dutch-like European variant.

The other influence was the person of Cornelius, who was mentioned as one of the second generation of writers (Stein 1985: 449) and who was of great importance in the community of Moravian Brethren. In Chapter 5 on Metalinguistic Comments, he will be mentioned as a reference of Johann Böhner. Cornelius is well known and several longer articles or parts of sections are dedicated to him (for instance Degn 2000: 338-345).

Not only did Creole become a common language to correspond in, but also all kinds of Creole elements became visible in the texts. No Creole texts aside from but these letters and the manuscript of Isles & Weber (1749-1753) were available at this time. The most important change was the completion of the TMA-system in written texts. The particles *a* (past) and *sa(l)* (future) were already used, but from 1752 on we also find *ka* (PRF) and *le/lee* (DUR, FUT) in our texts:

- (20) Jender arme swaerte Broeders op St Thomas Lee groet Jender
 2PL poor black Brethren on St. Thomas DUR greet 2PL
 (Domingo Gesoe, in Stein 1985: 449)

- (21) Da di allen le foelt na benen ons Hart en geloof
 DA DET all DUR feels NA.inside PL heart and beliefs
 die Selftte
 DET same
 (Cornelius, in Stein 1985: 449)

The use of *jender* (2PL), not only as a personal pronoun, but also as a possessive is also remarkable in this period. The construction PRON *le groet* PRON appears as a fixed construction in several letters.

The use of the Dutch verbal inflection in *foelt* ‘feels’ and *geloof* ‘beliefs’ next to the use of Creole TMA-markers, is notable and suggests that the use of Dutch is still important in writing texts.

4.3 Uncertainties and audience design

In this section I have tried to present an introduction to the uncertainties of the first Creole writers. Most, if not all, of the texts which will be studied in the following chapters were translated and written by European missionaries. Their language situation and audience design differed from that of the African writers. Whereas writers such as Peter, Domingo Gesoe and Cornelius addressed their texts to Europeans or American members of the Moravian Brethren, translators like Johann Böhner and Johann Christoph Auerbach were focusing on their pupils of African and Creole descent.

Chapter 6 is about audience design and will link Bell’s (1984) Audience Design Model to the situation in which the missionaries were authors and their community

was their audience. In this section the enslaved writers are the authors which had to connect to their audience.

It is interesting to imagine who was actually the audience of these letters and which language the readers needed to know in order to understand the letters well. Stein (1985, p.c.) indicates that these texts are addressed to addressees in Herrnhut, who the enslaved writers knew did not use Creole and so perhaps a more European/Dutch-like language may have been used to connect to them. There were also letters which were sent to Europe, several letters were sent to the pupils of the Moravian mission in Bethlehem, who the enslaved writers possibly knew were not speaking a European language and so a more Creole like language may have been used. A comparison of the letters related to their addresses seems interesting in this respect.

Uncertainties and corrections are therefore not necessarily an indication of improvements towards Virgin Islands Dutch Creole being made, but can also be attempts to connect better to a European or American audience.

Another group within the model of Audience Design, which will be introduced more thoroughly in chapter 6, consists of the referees of the enslaved Creole/African writers. This group comprises their teachers, like Martin and Löhans, who first instructed them to read and write in Dutch, and then introduced Creole as a written language. Inconsistencies in the letters, like the mixed use of Dutch and Creole pronouns, conjugated verbs, inconsistent use of TMA-markers, can therefore be the result of a conflict between the influence of the referee, who taught Dutch and was poor in Creole on the one hand, and the author who focused on learning and using written Dutch and who was not capable yet of recognizing the distinguishing grammatical elements of their Creole language on the other.

Nevertheless, these inconsistencies, uncertainties and changes not only show us the considerations of the early Creole writers who we may assume wanted to connect as best they could to their audience, but also reflect some examples of the language which was spoken by the community.

5. Metalinguistic comments

Not only do the Creole texts themselves provide interesting information about the language, also several historical sources - prefaces, chance remarks and letters - contain remarks with regard to the use of languages on the Danish Antilles. In this chapter I focus on what is said about the use of Dutch and Dutch Creole, mostly with regard to the mission of the Moravian Brethren.

5.1 Introduction

The appearance of the manuscripts presents information about linguistic considerations of writers and translators. Demographic sources add data to study the possible vernacular, and the earliest written texts show the writers becoming aware of their Creole language. In addition to the linguistic information provided by the texts themselves, these, and related historical sources, also contain valuable metalinguistic information, the focus of this chapter.

In his section *The Use of the Present to explain the Past*, Labov (1994: 11) discusses the use of historical documents for linguistic research. His remarks are clear and have great authority:

1. Historical documents survive by chance, not by design, and the selection that is available is the product of an unpredictable series of historical accidents;
2. The linguistic forms in such documents are often distinct from the vernacular of the writers, and instead reflect efforts to capture a normative dialect that never was any speaker's language;
3. As a result, many documents are riddled with the effects of hypercorrection, dialect mixture, and scribal error;
4. Furthermore, historical documents can only provide positive evidence. Negative evidence about what is ungrammatical can only be inferred from obvious gaps in distribution, and when the surviving materials are fragmentary, these gaps are most likely the result of chance.

These points of Labov could easily have been cited in the introduction alongside McWhorter's remarks. Indeed, we have to look at historical documents with care, or as Labov (1994: 11) argues: 'Historical linguistics can then be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data.' What if we could look at the data from another perspective, namely of a contemporary participant? Information about not only the use of language, but also about the variables which are usually dealt with in sociolinguistics, like age, area, social status, etc. can then clarify the historical data. Labov writes:

'We usually know very little about the social position of the writers, and not much more about the social structure of the community. Though we know what was written, we know nothing about what was understood, and we are in no position to perform controlled experiments on cross-dialectal comprehension. Our knowledge of what was distinctive and was not is severely limited, since we

cannot use the knowledge of native speakers to differentiate nondistinctive from distinctive variants.’ (Labov 1994: 11)

At this point the use of metalinguistic comments becomes crucial. A contemporary observer or participant may have written things down in which he, consciously or not, commented on the language or language use in his surroundings. In this chapter I will focus on three categories of metalinguistic comments related to the Danish Antilles and the mission on these islands:

1. comments about the language used on the Danish Antilles in records and letters, which is mainly Dutch (5.2, 5.3);
2. comments about the language to be used for missionary activities, Dutch, Danish or Dutch Creole (5.4);
3. comments about the correct language or jargon to be used in the missionary texts, which is mainly Dutch Creole (5.5).

First I will look into the use of Dutch as a lingua franca on St. Thomas, and possibly also on nearby islands (see section 3.7). Next I will present information about the language which Moravian Brethren thought would be helpful to communicate with the enslaved people of the Danish Antilles in. The following stage is the one in which Dutch Creole is chosen to be the language of instruction of the Moravian Brethren. In this section I will present information about observations and correct language use. Not only do missionaries discuss the right use of Dutch Creole in order to be understood, they also appear to be critical about the use of religious jargon. In the following chapter 6, *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles*, I will focus on the audience these remarks are directed at.

5.2 Dutch as the language of the Danish Antilles

In his history of the Danish West Indies, Westergaard (1917: 22)¹ writes the following about the first activities towards a permanent settlement on St. Thomas. Apparently two ships of colonists were about to colonize the island in the beginning of 1672, however, one of the ships was not there when it was expected during their stopover in St. Eustatius:

‘Captain Arent Henriksen, a Dutch skipper, took the yacht, *The Gilden Crown*, and set sail on August 30, 1671. He was to look over the ground, for it was not entirely certain that the English might not have occupied it. On the failure of the *Ferö* to arrive within the time expected, Captain Henriksen returned to Denmark with ship and cargo, only to find that the Governor had left on February 26, after having been delayed in Bergen since November 20, because of a leaky ship.’²

¹ Main source of Westergaard is: P. Mariager, *Historisk Efterretning over de Vestindiske og Guineiske Compagnies Etablissementer udi Vestindien og Guinea*. Westergaard (1922: 19): ‘This manuscript work by a bookkeeper of the Company is in the Royal Library at Copenhagen and is of prime importance.’

² See the original text in 20.ch5.1.

At first glance, this quote does not seem to contain any historical sociolinguistic information, aside from the remark that the skipper was Dutch and that he left for Denmark with ship and cargo, without colonizing St. Thomas. However, the letter of the skipper, addressed to his principal Jens Juel in Copenhagen, which was stolen by the English, was luckily chosen from about 38 thousand letters to be digitized for the so-called *Gekaapte Brieven*-corpus, in which I noticed it.³

Arendt Heinderijksz, the skipper, writes that he arrived at St. Eustatius and that lots of people are longing for the other ship, the *Faroer*, to go to St. Thomas. He heard that the *Faroer* was still in Copenhagen.

The content of the letter seems quite clear. The Virgin Islands were not occupied by the English and in St. Eustatius people were waiting to colonize St. Thomas. Initially, I interpreted this letter as if Heinderijksz was also heading for St. Thomas with colonists; however Westergaard gives him more of a scouting role.

The content of the letter is not the only aspect which is of interest for us. Although short, it presents interesting metalinguistic information. Firstly, the letter was written in Dutch by a Dutch skipper to his Danish sponsor. I do not know if Juel had his letters translated into Danish. If not, Dutch was used as a *lingua franca*. Since the Danish navy was trained by Dutch naval officers in the seventeenth century and since Danish naval jargon seems to be adapted from Dutch, this language could indeed have been used as such.

Another metalinguistic aspect of this letter is the information about the people mentioned. Arendt Heinderijksz was Dutch and worked as a skipper in Danish service. However more important is the information that the colonists for St. Thomas were from, or gathered on, St. Eustatius. This does not mean that all of them were of Dutch descent, but it does confirm the information about the migration of Europeans within the West Indies as being an important group as well as those from Europe.

The language of this letter was not unique. Although the islands St. Thomas, and St. John were under Danish government, Dutch was used in several documents from these islands. St. Croix is an exception. As we will see, the use of English is far more important than Dutch on this island.

The census of 1691, which contains the bulk of information I used in chapter 3, was in Dutch, while the census of 1688 was in Danish. Hesseling (1905: 14) shows two early eighteenth-century examples of Dutch letters, written by the Government on St. Thomas. Dutch is reported as being the most important language in the official records of the Danish Antilles government (E. Gøbel and P. Olsen, Danish Royal Archives, Rigsarkivet Copenhagen, p.c.) until the second half of the eighteenth century. Danish was exclusively used in contact with the government in Denmark.

‘Indeed, most of the business and correspondence of the local administration in St. Thomas was for a long period conducted in Dutch. Only correspondence between local Danish officials or correspondence between Danish speaking Governors and the Company Board of Directors is in Danish. After 1750, Danish took over as the official language of the local administration. So, you should

³ Letter 2008, <http://www.gekaaptebrieven.nl/tekst/brief/2008> (December 22, 2015)

have good opportunities to find out just what kind of Dutch was used on St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John.’ (p.c. Poul Erik Olsen, chefkonsulent, Statens Arkiver, e-mail 24 April 2012)

A most interesting example of the use of the vernacular among the colonists found by Hein van der Voort in the Rigsarkiv Copenhagen shows the importance of Dutch in court. In the records of the Danish Vestindisk Guneiske Kompagni in 1727,⁴ we find the following case addressed to Governor Friderich Moth of the Danish Antilles, written in Dutch:

‘Third, while we think that the High Lords will look after nothing than justice, so we flatter ourselves that they will rid the inconveniences which are in that. *Justice is performed in a language which is unknown to us, which causes long delay due to the translations, often much disadvantage because the translators are not the most competent ones, and the original contents/meaning are often translated badly or weakened* (my italics, CvR), it is also the case that one is obliged to leave the case to assistants and lawyers who can lose a law case by neglect as well as ignorance, whereby still poor people or orphans are disadvantaged and can get no recovery from a lawyer. The aldermen in law, called Tingmannen, who should be witnesses of what is executed in law, do not understand the language and cannot be seen as not useful *.*. With all the ordinary legal counsel, also like before with the president of the Governor was determined, would also make Justice very respected, than now in contrast to the strangers who arrive here only have small veneration for it and often also people be at law who only know little about the state of the country, without knowing to judge other qualities.’⁵

Governor Friderich Moth replied in a placard (drawn up by T. Schonneman, his secretary):

‘So we want to request that this will henceforth be put to rights in the same way in the period when the ordinary board decisions were appealed directly to the Messrs directors, because such an agreement exists with aforementioned most gracious *.* resolution and also many a man who does not master the Danish language, and can corrupt his Justice when he is not able to plead his case, so it is of the highest concern *that both ways of justice here may be held in the Dutch language, especially since three quarters of these inhabitants do not understand the Danish language, but the Dutch one* (my italics, CvR), and all contracts, testaments are also written in the Dutch language, and need translation when those must be brought to justice, which often weakens the sense and causes confusion.’⁶

⁴ (184, Vestindiske Kolonister; Kiøbenhavn fremførte klager og forslag. vedk. 1730 – 1752. Dokumenter aug. St. Thomse indyggernes ved kancellirad Hans Scavenius indgivne besvaeringes 1730-1732: 2-3)

⁵ Original text in 20.ch5.1.

⁶ Original text in 20.ch5.1.

Since in 1727 three quarters of the inhabitants do not use or understand Danish, but rather use Dutch, and since the use of Danish in court leads to (possible) disadvantages, it must become possible to use Dutch in court and to translate material into Dutch.

Another striking example of Dutch as a vernacular dates from 1731: the case of Anton Ulrich. Count Nicolaus von Zinzendorf met him at the Danish Royal Court, where Ulrich asked Von Zinzendorf to start missionary work on the Danish Antilles.

‘for the first time in the history of the Christian Church a negro slave from the West Indies stood up to address a congregation of orthodox Lutheran Protestants; and the chief burden of his message was that no one could possibly preach to the slaves unless he first became a slave himself. (...) therefore, no one could possibly preach the Gospel to them, unless he worked with them among the sugar canes.’ (Hutton 1922: 19)⁷

Oldendorp (2002: 18 [14-15]) adds important linguistic information:

‘Hier wiederholte dieser auf dem Saale, da die ganze Gemeinde beisammen war, was er den Brüdern in Copenhagen erzählt hatte, *in holländischer Sprache, und der Herr Graf übersetzte es.*’⁸

When the plans of the mission were actually carried out, in August 1732, again a small reference to the use of Dutch appears:

‘The first thing was to stand their ground at Copenhagen. As the directors of the Danish West Indian Company refused to grant them a passage out they had now to wait for any vessel that might be sailing. The whole Court was soon on their side. The Queen expressed her good wishes. The Princess Amalie gave them some money and a Dutch Bible. The Chamberlain slipped some coins into Nitschmann’s pocket. The Court Physician gave them a spring lancet, and showed them how to open a vein. The Court Chaplain espoused their cause, and the Royal Cupbearer found them a ship on the point of sailing for St. Thomas.’ (Hutton 1922: Chapter VI)

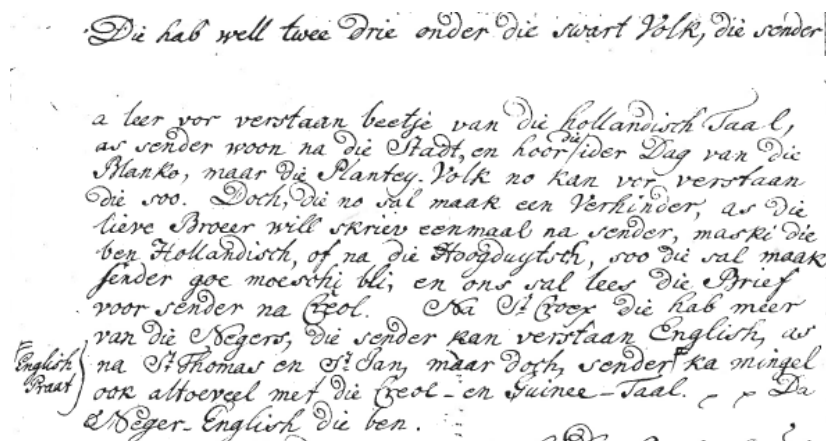
Not a Danish Bible, nor an English one: the princess gave him a Dutch copy, (Oldendorp 2002: 31, Oldendorp 1987: 277). These two first missionaries, Dober and Nitschmann, used ‘German, mixed with some Dutch, they were nevertheless understood by the Negroes’ (Oldendorp 2002: 38, Oldendorp 1987: 280).

⁷ Ulrich turned out to be a traitor. The chamberlain of the Danish king, Von Pless, told the first two missionaries that no white man ever works as a slave, and therefore they should earn their living as carpenters (Hutton 1922: 25-26).

⁸ Here [Ulrich] repeated in the hall, where the entire community was assembled, what he had told to the Brethren in Copenhagen, *in the Dutch language and the count translated it* (my italics and translation, CvR).

5.3 Moravian Brethren about language of the Danish Antilles

The records of the Moravian Mission by Oldendorp are full of metalinguistic comments, however, the focus is now on the missionaries and the best language to use in contact with the new members of their community. An interesting exception to the letters which are addressed only to the missionaries, is the excerpt from a letter the missionary J.C. Auerbach wrote in 1774 to F. Neisser. He includes two paragraphs in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole which are addressed to the enslaved Africans who already belong to the Moravian mission. The fact that these were written in Creole and not in Gothic, but in Roman font, indicates the readers must have had the opportunity to read the texts themselves. The information must also have been of interest for them.



Di hab well twee drie onder die swart Völk, die sender
 a leer vor verstaan beetje van die hollandsch Taal,
 as sender woon na die Stadt, en hoor sieder Dag van die
 Blanke, naar die Plantey. Völk no kan ver verstaan
 die soo. Doch, die no sal maak een Verhinder, as die
 lieve Broer will skriev eenmaal na sender, maer di
 ben Hollandsch, of na die Hoogduytsch, soo die sal maak
 sender goe moechti bli, en ons sal lees die Brief
 voor sender na Creol. Ma St Croix die hab meer
 van die Degero, die sender kan verstaan English, as
 na St Thomas en St Jan, maar doch, sender ka mingel
 ook altoevael met die Creol - en Guinee - Taal. ^{English} ^{Creol} Da
 Steger English die ben.

Figure 1: Metalinguistic excerpt from Auerbach (1774)

There are some among the black people who have learned to understand a bit of the Dutch language, as they live in town, and hear it every day from the whites, but the plantation folk cannot understand it. This should not be an impediment if the dear brethren will write to them some time, albeit in Dutch or High German, for this will make them very happy, and we will read the letter for them in Creole. On St. Croix there are more blacks who can understand English than in St. Thomas and St. John, but still their English speech is mixed very much with the Creole and Guinea languages.⁹ It is Negro-English. (Translation in Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 9)¹⁰

This letter presents the following metalinguistic information:

- Some of the enslaved African people have learned to speak some Dutch;
- That was possible since they lived in town and heard it every day from the colonists;

⁹ *Guinee-Taal* may be interpreted as ‘African language’.

¹⁰ Transcription in 20.ch5.1.

- Enslaved African people on the plantations can't understand Dutch;
- The missionaries will read Dutch or German letters to them in Creole;
- On St. Croix there are more enslaved African people who are able to understand English than on St. Thomas and St. John;
- Their English is however quite mixed with Creole and Guinea language;
- This St. Croix language is called *Neger-English*.

Even more information can be distilled from this. For instance there is a difference between English and the English Creole on St. Croix. The English Creole contains elements from 'the' Creole, which could of course be Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and Guinea language, which looks like a general term meaning 'African language', but since *Guinea* is used, this part of Africa must have been of importance in at least one period. Oldendorp (2000: 715) mentions this as relevant to the situation on St. Croix.

5.4 Reports about Dutch and Dutch Creole as important missionary languages

The language used in the Danish Antilles and the one which was preferred by the missionaries do overlap, however, in this section I focus on metalinguistic comments which are related to the mission.

In February 1736 the missionary Friedrich Martin arrived at St. Thomas. During his first meeting he already used the Dutch Bible, presumably the one which was the above mentioned present of Princess Amalia, which was left here for him by Dober. Despite the difficulties, Martin was able to connect to his audience:

'He could express himself in nothing other than the little Dutch that he had learned on the voyage to the islands¹¹; all the same, he was understood for the most part by the Negroes, among whom the number of his students increased daily.' (Oldendorp 1987: 308)

In Oldendorp's manuscript (2002: 157), it is presented somewhat clearer:

'Martin spoke Dutch with the blacks. He used this language, because he never learned Creole well, constantly also in hymns. Those who knew Dutch, understood him, the others only little, however when related to the main issue, they understood him well, for which he thanked the Lord.'¹²

And also:

¹¹ A voyage from Texel (The Netherlands) to the Danish Antilles took about two months.

¹² Martin redete mit den Schwarzen Holländisch. Er bediente sich dieser Sprache, weil er niemals recht Criolisch lernte, beständig auch in Liedern. Die Holländisch konnten, verstanden ihn, die andern nur wenig, doch was die Hauptsache anlangte, hinlänglich, wofür er dem Herrn dankte.

‘Although it would have been better if he could speak the Creole language; it was no great hindrance in spreading the Gospel.’¹³ (Oldendorp 2002: 158)

As Oldendorp continues, we read for the first time something about the relationship between Dutch and Creole, and about the absence of biblical jargon in Creole:

‘In Dutch many words resembled Creole or did not deviate much from it. Many expressions of spiritual matters needed to be adapted from Dutch into Creole, where they were absent, and those were taught by one black person to another, especially by those who were able to read the Dutch Bible. There was someone almost everywhere who could clarify the words which were unknown to them.’¹⁴ (Oldendorp 2002: 158)

Not only can we read that Dutch words were used for religious concepts, it seems as if these words were directly imported into the Creole. It also is clear that some of the enslaved people who did not know these concepts or words, were taught by others who could read the Dutch Bible. The last sentence of this citation is also of interest. Martin indicates that people could be found almost everywhere who could clarify the words which were unknown by others. So, there are enslaved people who read Dutch and the knowledge of it is widespread enough to help the ones who are not familiar to this language. In chapter 6 *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles* I will go into the possibility of the emergence of a missionary variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, comparable to Church Sranan in Surinam.

Martin does not only use this Dutch Bible. To read and write he also uses ‘a little Dutch primer’ (Oldendorp 2002: 158, Oldendorp 1987: 308). Initially, Martin did not own such a booklet. On June 24th, 1736 Martin wrote to his colleague in Amsterdam, Joh. Decknadel:

‘Although the masters want them to turn away from us: the numbers grow more and more: two we also teach to write: one wants to write to you, as soon as he can ... I am very sorry that I was so simple and did not take with me ABC-booklets. However, two can already spell out in the Gospel of Matthew from Brother Van Alphen: they also already start to read. The lord is also praised for that, however I ask you for several ABC-booklets as soon as possible.’¹⁵

¹³ Wiewohl es besser gewesen ware, wenn er die Negersprache hätte reden können; so machte es doch in der Ausbreitung des Evangelii keine grosse Hinderung.

¹⁴ ‘Im Holländischen waren viele Wörter zugleich criolisch oder gingen davon nicht sehr ab; viele Ausdrücke von geistlichen Sachen mussten notwendig aus dem Holländischen ins Criolische, wo sie fehlten, übergebracht werden, und solche lernte ein Schwarzer von dem andern, besonders von denen, die in der holländischen Bibel lesen konnten. Es war auch fast allenthalben jemand, der andern die Wörter, so ihnen unbekannt waren, deutlich machen konnte.’

¹⁵ ‘ob gleich die Meister ihr vill von ons ab wendig machen: so wächst die Zall desto mer: 2 lernen wir acu schreiben: der eine wil euch schreiben, so bald er kann. ... es reit mich sehr daß ich so einfältig gewest und keine ab[c] bücher hab mit genomen. doch 2 können schon in den evnielim matäum von bruder van alven buchstabiren: sie fangen auch schon an zu lesen: der

It bothered Martin that he did not take an ABC-booklet with him with him and he asks Decknadel to send him some (Oldendorp 2002: 179). There are already two slaves who are learning to spell and to write with the Dutch Gospel of Matthew from Brother Van Alphen. It is unclear which primer was actually used by Martin, since its title was never mentioned.¹⁶

In the same year the well-known bishop of the Moravian Brethren, August Gottlieb Spangenberg, was the first one to use the Creole systematically for his mission work on the Danish Antilles (Oldendorp 2002: 193, Oldendorp 1987: 322). Only two weeks after Spangenberg's departure on October 16th, 1736, Friedrich Martin noted in his diary on November 8th:

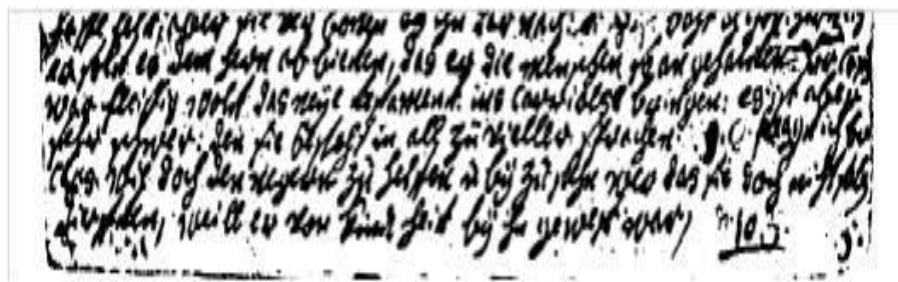


Figure 2: Excerpt from diary Martin (November 8th, 1736)¹⁷

Br. Cars[tens]¹⁸ war fleissig wolt das neije testament ins carriolse bringen: es ist aber sehr schwer: den sie besteht in all zu vieler Sprachen. (Stein 1982)

‘Brother Carstens was industrious, wanted to translate the New Testament into the Creole; it is very difficult however, since it consists of too many languages.’

It is not only interesting to see a start is made in translating texts into the Creole. Stein (1982) actually found the first attestation of the word ‘Creole’ used with regard to a language. Unfortunately the following sentence is quite hard to read, but some readable words seem to refer to the learning process:

her seij auch da vor gelobt aber om etliche abc boecken bit ich so bald möglich.’ (Stein 1985: 438-439)

¹⁶ Specialists in the field of the history of Dutch linguistics, suggest that Willem Sewel’s *Nederduytsche Spraakkonst* is meant (J. Noordegraaf and G. Dibbets p.c.). The first edition of this popular work appeared in 1708, followed by a second edition in 1712 and a third in 1733.

¹⁷ I thank Peter Stein for this illustration from one of his handouts and his help to transcribe it.

¹⁸ This Danish colonist Johann Lorenz Carstens from St. Thomas, helped the Moravian Brethren in several ways. See for instance Degn (2000: 47) and Oldendorp (2002: 2081-2082). The fact that all his letters were in Dutch, including the letters to Zinzendorf, who responded in German or French (p.c. Louise Sebro, December 2, 2016) is important metalinguistic information.

9. [Nov.] frage ich br Cars[tens]. wie doch den negern zu helfen und bij zu stehen we*s/r* das sie doch nicht falsch verstehen, weill er vor einer Zeit bij ihn gewest war /
'(...) I ask br. Carstens, how to help the negroes and to assist *...* that they do not understand us wrong, since he was with them for some time.'¹⁹

Not only does Martin teach the enslaved people to read and write, his colleague Johann Böhnicke, who also was a tailor, does so as well. In 1736 they rented two rooms in a house for this purpose (Oldendorp 2002: 202).

In May 1737 Martin noted that he had given away 133 ABC-booklets in the two months before. Two ships containing the books they ordered in Amsterdam were looted and since the need for books among the pupils was so large, Martin had to order these booklets in New York and even from the Dutch people on St. Thomas (Oldendorp 2002: 229).

Oldendorp (2002: 230) shows the skill of the first enslaved Africans who learned to write. Among the fifty African people in the Moravian community, one knows how to write. These early writers not only write to the brothers and sisters of the Moravian Brethren in Europe and North America on their own behalf, they also act as writers to whom others can dictate a letter. Four writers are mentioned. In the first place Mingo, who not only writes well, but also knows Dutch well, just like Rebecca.²⁰ The other two are Petrus (Piter, Pitrus, Peter), who was the writer of the first slave letter (see 4.2.1), and Abraham.

According to Oldendorp (2002: 288) even in 1742 the use of Creole was a problem. He writes that among the missionaries only Weber was able to speak proper Creole. Israel and the others mingled the language with Dutch. Dutch remained important as long as Dutch books were used for reading lessons. Manuscript 3314 is a list of rhyming baptismal formulas for about 65 female and 21 male slaves and a short rhyming list of missions of the Moravian Brethren. The language seems to be Dutch as used by non-native speakers and not Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. A closer study of this text is necessary to learn more about the working knowledge of Dutch of the German missionaries and their opinions on how to connect best to the Dutch and Dutch Creole speaking society.

With regard to spoken language, the enslaved African people could understand the Creole which was mingled with Dutch better than plain Dutch.²¹ This Creole which contains a great deal of Dutch, reminds me of Bakratongo (Van den Berg 2013) and Church Sranan of Surinam (Voorhoeve 1957, 1971). In chapter 6 *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles* I will explore the possibility of the existence of a variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole which is comparable to this Surinamese missionary variety.

¹⁹ My translation.

²⁰ See Sensbach (2005).

²¹ Original text: Unter den Missionarien konnte nur Weber rein criolisch reden; Israel und die andern vermengten es halb mit Holländischem, welche Sprache durch Martin war eingeführt worden und immer so blieb solange das Lesenlernen aus holländischen Büchern daurete. Die Neger verstanden es doch, wenn geredet wurde, wiewohl besser, was gemischt, as was bloß Holländisch war. (Oldendorp 2002: 526-527)

Oldendorp (1987: 538):²² ‘On January 23, 1762, additional help arrived with the Brethren Johann Lorenz and Johann Michael Engelhardt, who were accompanied by their wives and Brother David Böhm. Lorenz, who understood Dutch, did not take long to learn Creole. He was thus able to preach the gospel to the Negroes in their own language in a matter of a few weeks. He and his wife departed for St. Croix on April 23, in order to be of assistance to the resident missionary Hantsch in his extensive work. Creole was somewhat more difficult for Brother Engelhardt, but after a time he did manage to learn enough to be useful to the actual missionary work.

5.5 Reports about Creole as a missionary language in missionary texts

From the beginning of the translation work of both the Moravian Brethren and the Danish Lutherans, in several sources remarks are made about the language used in the missionary texts. These comments must be dealt with in order to study their authenticity, since they present insights into the choices which were made to connect as closely as possible to the audience of Creole speaking people. These were not accustomed to using and understanding religious jargon, and so translators had to make the choice of whether to borrow jargon from the source texts (German), from the European language which was most related to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Dutch), or to use the Creole expressions which most closely resembled the original religious terminology or, to create new Creole words or to define the religious expressions.

In 5.5.1 I focus on the texts which were written as comments on the translations or in which translations were mentioned. In some letters only a simple observation or comment presents an interesting insight into the history of translation and related considerations. In some acts translators treat the intelligibility of translated words and phrases.

The importance of Oldendorp’s history and dictionary cannot be overstated. His history is full of language related remarks, some of which are already dealt with above, but should in fact be researched in a separate study or publication. However, the comments in his dictionary are somewhat overlooked in earlier studies and I will discuss these in 5.5.2.

Metalinguistic comments are also placed in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations of missionary texts. The most striking examples of language policy aimed at connecting to both the audience of enslaved people and to the jargon of Christian tradition can be found in the prefaces of several large Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts of both Danish and German translators. In 5.5.3 I will present examples of these and other metalinguistic comments in Creole texts. Since most of the texts in our corpus are written by Moravian Brethren, my focus is mostly on their choices for correct connection to their audience.

5.5.1 *Comments in letters and acts*

It was not initially my intention to systematically search the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut or other archives for metalinguistic comments. The starting point was

²² This part is lacking in the original manuscript and is therefore not present in Oldendorp (2002).

formed by the manuscripts which were entered into the Clarin-NEHOL corpus and in some of these texts metalinguistic comments were made. However, when I had the opportunity to study some texts which would not be entered into our corpus, during my stay in Herrnhut in 1993, it appeared that some letters were of great interest. The letter of Auerbach (1774) that was mentioned earlier and which was already published, is an interesting example. A quick look at other letters from important translators, which are stored in the Unitätsarchiv (Herrnhut, Germany), however, presented some interesting insights about the date of early translations and considerations about correct language use. In addition, some authors are clear about the use of the texts and the correct language use to connect to the audience of enslaved people. In the following section I will present some metalinguistic comments and I will indicate why these texts are important for my study.

It is interesting to read the following in Oldendorp (2002: 588-589[527]) about the lack of a Creole hymn book in 1742:

The translation of the hymns into Creole did not go well. They used hymns which were translated into Dutch. Israel did not like it, since he saw well that the blacks understood little of it, however they did not have anything else; their use was already introduced and to make them good Creole was not easy; since later attempts became so that these, because of their unnatural language mixture, were even less comprehensible than before. The Creole language is sufficient and easy to preach the road to glory, however it is poor in words to translate into, especially for hymns, which is difficult and requires a special skill.²³

About ten years later, the following manuscript of the earliest Virgin Islands Dutch Creole hymn book that we know of was completed: *Criol Leedekin Boekje voor gebriek Van de Neger broer gemeente Na St Thomas St Crux Overzet uit de Hoog deutse taal door Broer Samy Isles en George Weber, en een deel mee Assistentie Broer Johaⁿes Van de Jaar 1749 tot Jaar 1753*. This manuscript is kept in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem Pa, USA. The writers of this book were Samuel Isles (1723-1764), who was a native speaker of English and Georg Weber (1715-1762), whom was mentioned by Oldendorp as the only missionary speaking the Creole correctly in 1742. The one who is mentioned as being an assistant, Broer Johaⁿes, is without a doubt Johann Böhner, who later became the most important translator of missionary texts.

Neither in this hymn book nor in the one published in 1765, were metalinguistic comments included. On May 11th 1773, Böhner added some final comments to the new version of the *Creol Psalm Buk* in order to get approval for a new edition.²⁴ Not only does this letter provide remarks about the language situation, but it also discusses correct language use in order to connect to the audience of enslaved people. Unfortunately not all tokens can be read well, but the content is clear. The release of the hymn book was prevented in order to present it first to the Brethren who were not only more experienced in the Creole language, but also in the terms

²³ Original text in 20.ch5.5 A.

²⁴ *PSALM-BÆK voor die NEGER-GEMEENTEN na S. THOMAS, S. CROIX en S. JEAN*. Barby: 1774. 264 pp.

which are clear to the enslaved, because of their regular use of the language. Their comments can be helpful since it often is the case that the Creole words are correct in themselves, but are used in another, even bad way by the enslaved people.²⁵ Böhner clarifies this in this letter with the following example. The expression *Mi Hert le brann*, literally ‘my heart burns’ is interpreted by the audience as ‘my heart is applied in anger’. When this expression is extended with *na Liefde* ‘of love’, it will be interpreted by Europeans in quite a positive way, something like ‘my heart glows with love’, while naïve (‘unintelligent’) people do not see the connection and remain in despair.²⁶

Another example which is presented in the same letter concerns the use of the word *prajeer*, ‘beautiful, gorgeous’ (Oldendorp 1768,²⁷ nr. 1757, s.v. ‘Prächtigt’) is interpreted by the Creole population as a negative concept, meaning ‘to boast, to brag’.^{28,29} Böhner continues on the next page with the word *mankement*.³⁰ The use of *mankement* ‘lack’ (Oldendorp 1768,³¹ nr. 1464 s.v. Mangel) can only be used for goods. It should therefore be handled carefully when using it to express feelings or emotions, as used in religious texts.

In a following paragraph Böhner mentions the use of a translation, probably of hymns, by Oldendorp.³² This is surprising, since we only knew that Oldendorp wrote a comprehensive history of the Moravian mission, including a extensive description of the Creole language, and a dictionary of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Apparently he also translated texts, which was not known thus far. His translation, although beautifully and strongly expressed, was changed in some places, since longer contact with the speakers of the language showed that his translations were too complex for them. In the following paragraph of this letter Böhner also writes that the hymns should not be too long. Only one, or at most two, strophes are enough to learn to sing it and be aware of its contents. Böhner indicates that he shortened some of the longer hymns. See chapter 11 and 11.3.2.

Böhner appeared as an assistant on the title page of the first hymn book manuscript of 1749-1753; however in 1773, he seems to have much more input to the text. In our Clarin-NEHOL corpus we have included several of Böhner’s translations; however only one, the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, is dated by him (1780). As well as the above mentioned letter, the next letter, from June 15, 1773, presents some examples of his translated manuscripts.

Böhner writes that his hymn book, which is eventually printed in 1774, is already transcribed in four copies for use by several brethren in Friedensthal (near

²⁵ Original text in 20.ch5.5. B.

²⁶ Original text in 20.ch5.5. C.

²⁷ Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 98)

²⁸ Original text in 20.ch5.5. D.

²⁹ According to Hesseling (1905: 285) the word *pracheer*, which appears in *Die Nieuwe Testament van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, na Creol-Taal*, 1802, 2 Peter, 2, 13, means ‘to brag’ and is etymologically related to Du. *brageren* ‘to brag’. In the WNT, s.v. BRAGEEREN, the first presented meaning is however the more positive meaning Du. ‘pralen, pronken’, En. ‘to parade’.

³⁰ Original text in 20.ch5.5. E.

³¹ Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 88)

³² Original text in 20.ch5.5 F.

Christiansted, St. Croix), Bethanien (St. John) and Niesky (St. Thomas). Br. Kremser's place in 1773 is probably Friedensberg on St. Croix where he was building a new church. No copies of these manuscripts were kept.³³

The fact that Böhner's Creole texts, with the Dutch Creole name *Psalm-Boeki* 'hymn book', including the epenthetic <i>, are copied, indicates the work connects best to its audience, and can therefore be considered to be interesting metalinguistic information.

The same letter also presents information about the time when the first Gospel Harmony was translated. The German source text of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmonies, Lieberkühn (1769/1820) only appeared five years before this letter was written and the two oldest Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations were not dated, but estimated as being written around 1780. This letter clarifies this subject:

'For me the Bible is a holy and invaluable book, and I have my satisfaction in translating from it into Creole. [I] have also brought the New Testament into more than one copy, the four Evangelists in Harmony, the Acts of the Apostles and so on. The first book of Moses, the Psalms from the prophet Isaiah (...) '(Böhner, June 15, 1773)³⁴

This quote indicates that Böhner is already working regularly on his translation of Bible texts into Creole. Firstly, he already made more than one copy of the New Testament. It is unclear to me however whether he means the Gospel Harmony, of which two copies in Böhner's hand are kept in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut, (321 and 322), or whether these are separate copies, which were eventually printed in 1802 and of which no manuscript is preserved. As well as the texts of the New Testament, he already mentions texts from the Old Testament. Two manuscripts of the first book of Moses are known. One, 325 in our corpus, is stored in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut and has Böhner's hand. We dated this text as 'around 1780', but for at least the first part of it we should place it as closer to 1773. The other copy we know of is a twentieth century copy kept in the archives of the KITLV in Leyden. I have never seen the manuscript of the psalms from the book of Isaiah, which Böhner mentions. De Josselin de Jong mentions an Isaiah manuscript in his diary. On February 6 1923 it was shown to him by reverend Romig of Moravian mission on St. John. On March 24, De Josselin de Jong had the opportunity to transcribe it. On March 27 he notes that he will be unable to finish his transcription, but in that case he will have the opportunity to take it with him. This is the last that we have heard of it. For more information about this, see chapter 15, *The diary of De Josselin de Jong*.

As well as information about dating the manuscripts, Böhner presents metalinguistic comments with regard to his audience of African heritage. This information about his approach to his audience is clear: he does not translate word for word, but only what is good, useful and necessary for his audience, since they do

³³ Original text in 20.ch5.5 G.

³⁴ Original text in 20.ch5.5 H.

not have the Bible, cannot read and do not know our God.³⁵ This remark presents Böhner as a translator who focused on his audience and used the right grammar to make the best connection. This makes the manuscripts and the emendations valuable and useful for studying the language of the audience.

In his letter to Joseph Spangenberg of January 21, 1780, we also find information about when he translated his texts. Firstly, he starts to thank Spangenberg for the (German) *Idea Fidei Fratrum* which was sent to him in 1779 with the wish of a translation by a Brother who speaks the Creole language well. Böhner immediately replied that he will fulfill this task and has finished the manuscript, which consists of 650 pages, in the same year. Fortunately Böhner continues his letter by mentioning his experience, when he writes he already had a passion for translating the Holy Scripture into Creole for twenty years, and already started then.³⁶

Since this letter is from the beginning of 1780, we now know that Böhner already translated texts into Creole from before 1760 onwards. Oldendorp (2002: 1631) writes that Böhner reads from the second chapter of the Acts, which he translated into Creole. Many translations had been made before and that also happened in the following period, according to Oldendorp. The first complete work which can be attributed to him, is the anonymous *Gebeden en Liederen voor die swart Broeder-Gemeenten na S. Thomas, S. Croix en S. Jan*. 1765, however, no direct links that prove him to be the author can be found in secondary texts.³⁷ Just like in his letter of June 15, 1773, Böhner presents an overview of his work in his letter of January 21, 1780: more than one translation of the New Testament, the four Evangelists according to the Harmony as the late Brother Lieberkühn presented it,³⁸ the Acts and Letters of the Apostles, and a great part from the Old Testament³⁹ from the Books of Moses, Joshua, the Book of Judges, Job, Ruth, from the Psalms of David,⁴⁰ and from the four great and the twelve minor prophets.

Böhner keeps on translating hundreds of pages. However, is his work useful? Does it really connect to his audience? He already explained that the hymns should not be too long, the translations should not be word for word. In the following quote we read why:

‘With respect to the Creole Dutch I am greatly embarrass^{ol.d} I find that it is too hard for me to learn, this gives me some pain, as I know the Br[ethre]n here thinks the Negroes cannot understand the English,‘t is true there ^{ol.are} some that cannot, but there are others on many plantations the owners English people,

³⁵ Original text in 20.ch5.5 I

³⁶ Original text in 20.ch5.5. J.

³⁷ Oldendorp (2002: 1685) mentions bishop Johannes [de Watteville (1718-1788), CvR] as the editor of this work.

³⁸ Like in letter June 15, 1773, however the German source text of Lieberkühn is mentioned.

³⁹ In letter June 15, 1773, he only mentions the first book of Moses. Despite this date, we suppose at least most of the text is based on Karl Rudolph Reichel, *Bücher der heil. Schrift, altes Testament*, 12 Bände, 8to. Barby, Kummer, 1774. I suppose all other parts were translated between 1773 and the beginning of 1780.

⁴⁰ Also already mentioned in letter June 15, 1773.

who can neither speak nor understand the Creole.’ (James Birkby to Joseph Spangenberg, 27 April 1781, Anneberg (St. John))⁴¹

In a following letter to Joseph Spangenberg (August 2nd, 1781), Böhner again reflects on his work on the translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, which he started about twenty months before. It looks as if he has completed the work of about 650 pages. The translation was finished; the text was edited to connect to its audience of enslaved people and was bound. He considers it useful to be used in the community of people with African heritage.⁴²

This letter is also important because of Böhner’s other remarks such as his thoughts about Dutch Creole. He considers it a simple language; however it should be learned. Someone who wants to translate into it from other languages, should have the language in it, otherwise he cannot translate many words. To learn the language he may use the already translated texts.⁴³

As he had written in the preface of his translation of Gospel Harmony 322, we know that Böhner had already used the Creole language from about 1742 onwards.⁴⁴ This opinion about learning and using Creole becomes therefore of interest.

Böhner also presents information about his colleagues. The following quote about J.M. Magens is remarkable, since Magens’ grammar (Magens 1770) is well known as the first printed grammar of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole language and since Magens was also presented in prefaces of his works as a native from the Danish Antilles.⁴⁵ In his letter of August 2, 1781 Böhner writes the following about Magens and his recently published translation of the New Testament: ‘a man from here, a native from St. Thomas⁴⁶ and therefore a Creole, who was reduced to poverty, translated the New Testament into Creole, which was published in Copenhagen in the first quarter of 1781. It has however not succeeded. It is too close to the Danish language and apart from that very imperfect. Our helper Brother Cornelius does not like it either and wishes that at least our New Testament will be published in his language, because my translation is more in accordance their vernacular.’⁴⁷

⁴¹ Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, R 15 Bb 26 b 190

⁴² Original text in 20.ch5.5 L.

⁴³ Original text in 20.ch5.5 M.

⁴⁴ Dating manuscript 322 becomes problematic. In his letter of 1773 we read that he already wrote two versions of the Gospel Harmony, however, in his preface of manuscript 322 he writes: “And so I have translated it into the Creole language, like I have learned from the Creoles, with whom I have been dealing in the forty years I am here.” Since Böhner arrived at St. Thomas in 1742, text 322 cannot be written in or before 1773, and must be from around 1782. Hopefully manuscript 32X will be found to clarify this (Stutz, 1971).

⁴⁵ See Dyhr (2001), a detailed description of the life of J.M. Magens and his grammar.

⁴⁶ Magens was actually born on St. Thomas in 1715 (Dyhr 2001: 8, 16, Eyster Jacobs & Haas 1899 write: St. John), and moved to St. John after 1754. He left the Danish Antilles in 1783 and passed away in the same year (Eyster Jacobs & Haas 1899: 300-301, Dyhr 2001: 11, 16). Although a native of the Danish Antilles, he eventually lived in this community about as long as Johann Böhner did.

⁴⁷ Original text in 20.ch5.5 N.

This criticism of Böhner and Cornelius should however be commented on. Although Magens received the task of translating the Bible into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, Danish missionaries probably worked with manuscripts, just like the Moravian Brethren⁴⁸ (Lose 1891: 23). These manuscripts were never found and it is supposed that Magens created an entirely new translation. In part III we will see that comparison of verses from the New Testament and the Gospel Harmony show several similarities that point to a common source of inspiration (see chapter 11).

According to Cornelius's wish in the above mentioned letter, the Moravian version of the New Testament should be published and everyone who owns a hymnbook should also buy a New Testament. Böhner however appears to be critical about his earlier work on this translation. In the letter of August 2nd, 1781, he writes that he wanted to copy the Gospel Harmony again, including the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles in order to publish it.⁴⁹

Böhner passed away in 1785. In 1802 the Moravian translation of the New Testament was published and in 1833 the printed translation of Lieberkühn's Gospel Harmony appeared. The latter book was published by the American Tract Society and in the Moravian Brethren's Tract Operations in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the American Tract Society, Boston, presented at Boston, May 25, 1836* we read the following acknowledgement, containing metalinguistic comments related to the availability of the texts:

'The reception of the edition of 2,000 of the *Creole Harmony of the Gospels*, published by the Society, is thus gratefully acknowledged by Rev. J. Boenhof, Moravian Missionary in the Danish West India Islands: -

"With the fair and handsome print of this beautiful little work (he says) we are delighted more than I can express. Now not only the missionary can with far greater convenience read in public from the printed page, but what is far more important, we are enabled to give a copy gratis to all those of our colored population who are taught to read, and they may peruse it at home for their edification. Our seven congregations of colored people in the three Danish islands, (embracing about 9,400 souls,) request us to return the most heartfelt thanks to the American Tract Society, in which we, the missionaries laboring among them, most cordially unite. We are unable to give utterance to our feelings of gratitude for their invaluable gift. The Lord whom they serve, even the God of our salvation, will abundantly bless that worthy Society, we trust, in answer to our united prayers.' (Anon. 1836: 34)

On the 30st of April, 1784, the Moravian Brethren Joh. Loretz, J.M. Mack, J. Chr. Auerbach and C.G. Reichelt discussed the use of written material for the mission.⁵⁰ A few texts are needed for their missionary work. There are for instance references to parts of the Bible, with regard to baptizing, a textbook to teach young people and the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*. A translation of the textbook into Creole is necessary.

⁴⁸ "Before the printing of Magens' New Testament the catechists used manuscript copies. The cost of a printed copy was \$3.50." (Eyster Jacobs & Haas 1899: 540)

⁴⁹ Original text in 20.ch5.5 O.

⁵⁰ Original text in 20.ch5.5. P.

102 II. Methodology and starting points

There was indeed a need for good texts, and even though Böhner and others already worked on these, an update is necessary to fulfill to the present needs. Not only is there a shortage of Creole books, there is also a need for texts which connect well to the Creole audience.⁵¹

‘The only part from the Bible which is usable to read is the Passion which was translated by Brother Auerbach from the Gospel Harmony.⁵² Our Brother Böhner made a special effort to translate not only the New, but also the Old Testament. However, his translations need a total rewriting before they can be used. The same is the case with a New Testament, which was translated into Creole by a certain Magens and which was published in Copenhagen.’ (*Visitationsbericht* 1784: 61-62)

The one who eventually gets the job of editing these texts is Auerbach, whom we already know from his metalinguistic comment from his 1774 letter which was displayed above. He is seen as one most knowledgeable about the Creole language and the one who should therefore translate the following texts and even prepare them for publishing, which he agrees to do.⁵³

This comment implies that all Creole texts by Auerbach were viewed as best connecting to the audience and are of great interest for the study of authentic eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Unfortunately most of the translations are anonymous and we must therefore rely on both metalinguistic comments in which texts are attributed to him and on the recognition of his handwriting. In the *Visitationsbericht* some of Auerbach’s texts are mentioned:⁵⁴

- Gospel to be read on Sundays
- Epistles of the Apostles
- Textbook for the Community
- The entire Gospel Harmony, in order to publish it

At least two texts, Gospel Harmony (manuscript 3231) and the *Geskiednis na die Martel-Week en tee na die Hemelvaart van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus* (not dated, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem Pa., USA) were preserved. They both appear in the above mentioned list and show Auerbach’s handwriting.

Auerbach did not have to do all the of the work by himself. Many brethren agree to help. The *Visitationsbericht* (1784: 65) says that it will not be hard to translate a text into Creole for the Brethren who already speak the language.

⁵¹ Original text in 20.ch5.5. Q.

⁵² This text, *Geschiedenis na die Martel-Week en tee na die Hemelvaart van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus*, is not digitalized yet. It is stored in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem. Pa, USA (Ms. Translations into Danish (Creolan). 2.) The Passion Week-Ascension”, MissWI 187.

⁵³ Original text in 20.ch5.5 R.

⁵⁴ Original text in 20.ch5.5 S.

The above mentioned letters present only metalinguistic fragments, however, I hope to have shown that these are of interest for a time line of texts and for the study of ideas about language and translation.

5.5.2 Comments in Oldendorp's history and dictionary

Oldendorp's *Historie der caribischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan* was published several times. The version which was already used for several studies on history and language in the Caribbean is Oldendorp (1777). In 1987 the English translation by Arnold Highfield and Vladimir Barac was published. The original publication, however, was based on a much more extensive manuscript version which was published in 2000 and 2002.

Oldendorp (1777) contains a short description of the language, which of course also appears in the 1987 translation. This description is a summary for European readers of not more than 20% of the complete grammar, which was published on 52 pages (p.771-823) of the original manuscript (Oldendorp 2000: 681-724). This grammar is being studied by Stein and will be published in the near future.

In addition to the linguistic part, this history contains countless small notes presenting interesting information about the language of the missionaries, their use of Dutch and Creole, the time it took to learn Dutch and Creole and the situations in which Creole was used. Several translation activities are mentioned, not only in spoken situations, but also as written texts. In this dissertation I use these comments; however, a closer look at all linguistic and metalinguistic comments in these works deserves a separate study. To give an idea about the nature of the comments, I present this short example about correct language use in translations.

An important note for dating the texts can be found in Oldendorp (1987: 540), where the first translations of longer texts, like the Gospel Harmonies, are mentioned as being written in around 1761. A following comment (1987: 540)⁵⁵ shows some of the thoughts that the translators had when finding the correct translations towards the Creole:

‘Böhner had to struggle with many difficulties in the course of his translation, some of which were caused by the poverty of the Creole language and others by the conceptual limitations of the Negroes. The latter, for example, have no idea of the nature and color of snow. Thus, in order to bring them to understand the text, Böhner had to translate the expression white as snow in Isaiah 1: 18 in a different manner, but rendering the same concept. He used the following: Your sins shall be as white as linen.’

In 1767/1768 Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp wrote his *Criolische Wörterbuch, Erster zu vermehrender und wo nöthig zu verbessernder Versuch*, which was only published by Stein in 1996 (Stein & Van der Voort 1996).

In this manuscript Oldendorp presented 3404 German entries which were almost always followed by a Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translation, often with examples and comments. Several comments are related to the use of the words within community of the Danish Antilles. Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 22-31) describe

⁵⁵ This part is lacking in the original manuscript (Oldendorp 2000, 2002).

possible etymologies of included entries, a description of metalinguistic comments related to missionary jargon, comments on Oldendorp as a linguist, phonological aspects and remarkable aspects of lexicon, semantics and grammar. Stein's list is quite lengthy, but some items should be added.

Note that at the time when Oldendorp wrote his dictionary, only a few texts had been written in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The importance of his opinion is noted in Böhner's letter from May 11th, 1773 in which we writes that Oldendorp's translation is used and that his opinion was important. It is unclear however which translation is meant. Also keep in mind that this dictionary was a German into Creole one. It was meant to help German missionaries to choose the correct words to use to communicate with the Creole speaking community and in their written translations.

Dutch heritage

The most obvious are the comments related to Dutch. Oldendorp adds

<i>Line</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Oldendorp</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
0050	Achtzig 'eighty'	Achtig, tachentig holländs	Oldendorp explains the use of the initial <t> from Dutch <i>tachtig</i> 'eighty'.
0148	Asche 'ash'	Haschësis, /:holländ. Assche:/.	It is unclear whether Oldendorp means if <i>Assche</i> 'ashes' is the etymon or the common term in the vernacular.
0728	Erwerben	verdien, erwerv. <i>Jenes ist das bekanteste Wort. Das holländt, verwerv hat die Bedeutung nicht, sondern heisst bekommen, erlanden und erwerben heisst verkrygen.</i>	In Dutch the case of the <i>false friends</i> is well known: several Dutch words look similar to German ones, but mean something different. The same holds for these words. Speakers of German could easily use (v)erwerv 'to obtain' instead of <i>verkrygen</i> 'to receive' because of this.
2176	Stärken 'to strengthen'	sterk, versterk. <i>das sonst gebrauchte verkracht hat im holländ. einen schlechten Sinn, schänden, nothzüchtigen. gestärkt.</i>	In this case, speakers of German could use <i>verkracht</i> as a word for word translation: prefix <i>ver-</i> + <i>Kraft</i> 'strength' becomes <i>verkracht</i> . The word initially meant 'to force with power/strenght', but is often used as 'to rape'.
2273	Tante 'aunt'	Mö. Wird holländ. Moei geschrieben.	The pronunciation would be like /m2:/, while Dutch <i>moei</i> 'aunt' is

			pronounced as /mui/. Until 1767 only a few texts must have been written in Dutch Creole using the word for ‘aunt’, so Oldendorp’s note seems remarkable.
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African heritage

In a few cases the difference between European use and that of the population with African heritage is mentioned.

Line	German	Oldendorp	Explanation
0051	Ader ‘vain’	Ader, Aar, grob negerisch Touw. ‘vain’.	Oldendorp’s note <i>grob Negerisch</i> ‘lit. coarse negro-like’ seems not to refer to a use in an offensive way and should perhaps be translated into ‘as originally used by African descendants’. The word <i>Touw</i> , Dutch <i>touw</i> ‘rope’ refers to the shape of the object, which seems to me one strategy in using a new language.
0136	Anzeigen ‘to show’	toon. <i>ein wenigen Negern bekantes Wort maak bekent, praat ut p.</i>	In this case Oldendorp only writes that this word is not commonly used.
3162	Witwer ‘widower’	Weduwer. <i>ich bin Witwer geben die Neger nur: mi no ha Wief meer.</i>	For <i>I am widower</i> the people of African heritage just give: ‘I NEG have wife (any)more’. Several nouns are not taken over literally from the superstrate, but need to be described. This is the clearest example.

Missionary jargon

Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 26) presents several words which are missionary jargon. An interesting example is the following:

1349 Langmütig, Langmut **langmoedig, langmoedigheid**, *ziemlich unbekante holländ. Wörter, Paschenschia, Paschenschia-volk, ist mehr negerisch*
‘Long-suffering, relatively unknown Dutch words, Paschenschia, Paschenschia-volk, is more negroe-like’.

The first words mentioned, *langmoedig* and *langmoedigheid*, are indeed from Dutch *lankmoedig* ‘long-suffering, patience’ and are examples of written language and even of church jargon even in Dutch itself. The words which are used by the inhabitants of African origin seem to have an Iberian origin. It would not be surprising if this word is also borrowed from Papiamentu (Stein & Van der Voort 1996: 24).

He even presents an example in which a difference between Christianized and heathen enslaved people from African descent is shown:

2436 verbinden eine Wunde **verbind een Seer**. sich – **verbind**. Wir wollen uns mit einander verbinden **Ons sa maak een Verbond met malkander**. Sie haben sich auf Leben und Tod verbunden *heisst unter den heidnischen Negern bisweilen: Sender a drink een die ander si Bloed*.

‘to apply a bandage, we want us to connect to each other. They have connected in live and death is said by the heathen negroes sometimes: they drank one (from) the other his blood’.

So, the Christianized enslaved people of African heritage are used to the missionary jargon, but the heathens practice a more primitive way of creating a bond.

A relation between Europeans and people with African heritage not only mentioned in the metalinguistic comments. In the following entry the example is remarkable:

2429 verändern **verander, draai. Sender draai Neger** sie verändern sich zu Neger, werden Neger.

‘to change, They turn (into) negroe, they change into negroes, become negroe.’

The meaning of the word *verändern* is clear, but the example puzzles us. Does this mean someone from European descent adopts all kinds of Caribbean local habits? Or is it offensive: someone becomes rude, uncivilized?

In chapter 6, *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles*, I will go into the use of religious jargon, comparable to Church Sranan in the Surinamese situation. Oldendorp also indicates when a word is used as a religious or liturgical term instead of a more common one. See for instance the following comment under the entry *brennen*: 0411 Mi Hert le bran ich bin äuserst aufgebracht, es kocht in mir. Aber im geistl. Sinn: Mein herz brennet nach ihm oder nach euch für Liebe, mein Herz brennet nach ihm: Mi Hert le bran na em of na jender van Liefde, mi Hert le bran na em, sind schriftliche Ausdrücke von Neger.⁵⁶

Line	German	Literally	Missionary jargon
0147	Arzeney ‘medicine’	Barbiergoed, Meestergoed	Geneesgoed, Medicin, Remedie

⁵⁶ Böhner (May 11, 1773) used this expression in his letter. See chapter 5.5.1.

0655	Ein Haus erbauen ‘to build a house’	Bou een Hoes	Gie goeie Exempel ‘set a good example’
1144	Hirt ‘herdsman’	Beestoppasser, oppasser, Beestwachman	Skaapopasser, Skaapwachman ‘sheep-’

Hard to understand

In his dictionary Oldendorp also adds a remark when a word is understood by only a few people. Next to words which he indicates are only understood by a few people, he sometimes presents an alternative which shows the perspective of a practical translator. It seems as if German or Dutch words were fitted into a ‘creole’ format by missionaries.

<i>Line</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Incomprehensible Creole?</i>	<i>Solution</i>
0600	Einmütig ‘united’	Eenmoedig	Sender ha een Sin Better: Met een Sin en Hert
0702	Ernst ‘serious(ly)’	Ernst, ernstlik	Hart, skerp
0864	Gast ‘guest’	Gast	Een vreemd Man
0928	Gemüt ‘mind, heart’	Gemoed	Sin, Hert
1245	Kein ‘not a, none’	Geen	Niet een
1267	Kleben ‘to stick (to)’	Kleev	Vas, hang vast, hou vast
1821	Regel ‘rule’	Regel	Em a leer mi soo, em a gie mi die Leer, die Leering
1831	Reisen ‘to travel’	Reis	Loop
1941	Schenken ‘to give’	Skenk	Vereer, gie, spendeer

Examples of words of which it is indicated that these are little known, are *Aanskien* ‘Blick, E. look, view’, *Vernedriging* ‘Erniedrigung, E. humiliation’, *Gaaven* ‘Gaben, E. gifts’ and *Klaarheit* ‘Klarheit, E. clarity’.

An interesting case is *Skuldopfer* ‘guilt offering’ (Stein & Van der Voort 1996: nr. 2028) which is a biblical term. It is translated into *Skuldoffer*. Oldendorp adds the comment that although the term is like other comparable words, incomprehensible without an explanation, it is necessary to include it. For *Erde* ‘earth’, Oldendorp mentions both Creole equivalents *Grond* and *Aarde*, but indicates that the last one is introduced, but not widely known.

108 II. Methodology and starting points

In a few cases the German word should be translated into an expression because of the lack of a Creole equivalent: 2229 'Streiter ist schwer genau auszudrücken, und muss umschrieben werden' 1585 'Nacheifern muss umschrieben werden', 1262/1263 'Kläger wird mehr mit dem verbo ausgedrückt'.

Instead of indicating which word is not commonly used, Oldendorp sometimes writes which word or expression is common.

<i>Line</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Creole</i>	<i>Common</i>
0269	Bekehren 'to convert'	Sich draai, verander, bekeer	Sich draai
1353	Lassen 'to let'	Laatstaan, laat	Laatstaan
1407	Lieben 'to love'	Ha lief, lief	Ist gar nicht geöhnlich, klingt auch eben so wie Leib, mi Lief, mein Leib
2129	Sonst 'otherwise'	Anders, onoso	Anders ⁵⁷
3327	Zunehmen 'to increase'	Groei, neem toe	Groei, kom meer, kom verder, Groei, kom verder na Kennis

There are several other entries in Oldendorp's dictionary which present more information than just the translation into Creole. A closer study will provide further insight into the perspectives of the enslaved Africans on the colonial society and the community of the Moravian Brethren.

5.5.3 Comments in translated texts

In four texts metalinguistic comments are added in prefaces to explain missionary language use. These are of interest since they explain the relation between Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and Dutch as its lexifier. In addition, these comments are indications of referee design, which will be dealt with in section 6.4.1, but needs to be briefly introduced here.

The main criticism that challenged the authenticity of these mission texts is the use of missionary or liturgical jargon, which must have been hard to understand for the audience and which was used very little in twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. These elements were probably not introduced by missionary translators to connect to their audience of enslaved African people, but rather to educate them by referring to the tradition of the terminology of the Moravian Brethren and the Danish Lutheran Church. This choice to learn new Christian terminology we call, following Bell (1984), referee design.

The first printed New Testament is Magens (1781). In its preface we first read information about the use of the text with regard to the native language of the congregation. Since the missionaries were unable to work in the rural areas because

⁵⁷ Remarkable, since *onoso* seems far more Creole than Dutch *anders*.

of the lack of houses and schools, and because of the difficulty of traveling in these mountainous rocky islands in the harsh hot climate, they mainly worked in towns. They write a short history of Danish activities in serving the congregation in their own language. This gives information about the use of the Creole language and the Creole books they use for their work.

In this history attention is paid to education in the native language, which was needed to attract more enslaved African people to the congregation. From this moment on services, singing, preaching, catechism and education are carried out solely in the Creole language, which the people of African heritage generally heard and understood. Since there was a lack of Creole material, it was the Lutheran College which ordered translations to be made. They started with a primer, a small catechism and a hymn book, which were printed in 1770.

Later on they started to think about translating the New Testament and Jochum Melchior Magens, who had studied at Copenhagen University, was given this task, as he had already written a Creole grammar in 1770 and had let one of the missionaries write a dictionary. The latter was not printed; it was, however, well used in mission activities. When the New Testament was released, they said they were expecting an Old Testament, of which the Psalms had already been finished, and the Books of the Prophets from Magens' hand.

Magens himself writes an additional comment to the reader to justify when Christian terminology is deemed impossible to translate into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole:

‘Although the author of the Creole Grammar⁵⁸ has given a warning following the dialogue between a catechist and a pagan and has presented there that it is necessary for religious matters to follow the Dutch language as the right origin of the Creole one, so I am obliged to give a warning too, that I have followed the same rule in this translation of the New Testament. I have followed the Creole way of speaking everywhere but I did not want to use the ordinary words and expressions, because these do not fit in this clerical matter. And I myself have heard that the whites as well as the Negroes were disturbed and offended when they heard one or the other in some sermon or spiritual discourse, that they used such ordinary words, which they do use in daily interaction.’ (Magens 1781: *Na die leeser*, see 20.ch5.3)

In the translations of the Moravian Brethren we find comparable metalinguistic comments in prefaces. The first one available is from the Moravian hymn book of 1774, in which the comment is quite reserved:⁵⁹

‘We present you a new hymn book, which we extracted from German hymns and verses and has been translated into Creole, as much as was possible for this time and as much as we were acquainted with your language.’⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See Magens (1770: 51).

⁵⁹ Anon. (1791: 11) tells us that at the same time a Dutch hymn book was published. This needs further research.

In his letter from May 11th, 1773 Böhner already discussed some complex lexical matters. In this preface it is said that the translator did the best he could, on the basis of what he knew about the language at that time. No other information in this preface is related to language. The preface of the 1784 edition of the hymn book does contain language related comments.

In 1780 Böhner finished his translation of the *Korte Begriep Van die Christlike Leer nabin die evangelische Broedergemeenten, daer geleeft van August Gottlieb Spangenberg*. (Idea Fidei Fratrum, 1780). Two of his letters, from 1780 and 1781, contain information about this work. In the preface of this manuscript, some metalinguistic comments are presented.⁶¹ It shows that the manuscripts should be read to the audience, since only a few of them could read them by themselves. The following part of the preface gives information about the experience of Johann Böhner, with 38 years of contact with the enslaved African people. Böhner is old, and has a trembling hand, and confesses he does not write without mistakes. The most remarkable comment however has to do with the use of new words in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole:

‘I had to use German or Dutch words here and there, and I do not consider it harmful when we improve the Creole language with words it does not have, but can be made clear to the Creoles.’ (326: 1)

This is a clear example of referee design. Böhner shows, just like Magens, only one year before Magens’ New Testament appeared, that he had to use German or Dutch words. His argument is interesting: he does not consider it harmful when they improve the Creole language with these new words. The preface is in German and not in Creole, and can therefore be interpreted as directed to colleagues and not to the audience of Creole speakers.

Of all four manuscripts, only the second Gospel Harmony manuscript (322) contains a preface. In this preface Böhner writes extensively about language, however not in German, but in Creole, and it can therefore be interpreted as having been written for an audience of Creole speakers.⁶² It is addressed to *jender* ‘2PL’. The first comment is related to dating the text as he refers to a Creole hymn book, which could be the 1765 or the 1774 edition.

‘It has been some years ago, that we had presented you a Creole hymn book, which could help you to sing when we have our gatherings, just like you have learned to read and to use it also when you sit in your house, without being at work, to get acquainted to the Psalms (or songs).’⁶³ (322: 1)

⁶⁰ Original text: ‘Ons leveer jender een nieuwe Psalm-Boek, die ons ka neem ut van ons Hoogduitsch Psalm en Vers sender, en ka set die na die Creol, soo veel as die a wees mooglik voor die Tid, en soo ver ons a kom bekennt met jender Taal.’

⁶¹ Original text of preface of 326 in 20.ch5.2.

⁶² Complete text of preface of 322 can be found in 20.ch5.2.

⁶³ Original text: ‘Die ben noe al sommig Jaar geleeden, dat ons a ka Leveer jender een Creol Psalm-Boeki, dat jender a sal kan help vor sing wanneer ons hab ons versammlingen, sooveel as

The following paragraphs present the contents of this manuscript, but also the intention to have this manuscript transcribed again to be printed in Europe, like the hymn book. This is interesting not only for dating or historical reasons. It suggests that the language which is used in this manuscript connects best to the audience of Creole speakers. Böhner accounts for his mastery of the Creole language in the following way:

‘And so I have transcribed it in the Creole language, as I have learned it from the Creoles, with whom I have had contact in the forty years I am here.’⁶⁴ (322: 3)

In his preface of 326 he mentions 38 years of experience, so according to this information text 322 can be dated in 1782. More important is that Böhner again indicates that he does have experience with using the Creole language for about half his life.

The following comment is like the one made by Mogens and the one in the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*. It shows the need to use European vocabulary to optimize the translation of the Gospel:

‘And although I have not hit it in all words, so very precisely in the translation into the Creole language, still it is not the case that someone, who is born a Creole, will not be able to learn to understand the words, which are not known to him well. However, the context of the language gives also knowledge of the words, which I took from Dutch or German, for instance *onberispelik*, which is, when people go that justly, that they do not have to give blame to them, or to find fault in their behavior. (...)’⁶⁵ (322: 3)

In this comment, Böhner appears to be very prudent when choosing new words for his audience of Creoles. He introduces words which can be learned to be understood by those who are Creole. He also suggests that the words which are borrowed from *Hollands* ‘Dutch’ or *Hogh dutchs* (>D. *Hoog Duits* ‘High German’) can be understood from their context, followed by two examples.

In chapter 8, I explore the vertical presentation of synonyms and alternatives. This way to help the reader to connect best to his audience is the only one which is explicitly described in Böhner’s preface and will be studied more closely. As well as words which become clear in their context, Böhner also wants to add new words which are lacking in the Creole language, but are used in both the Old and the New Testament of the Bible.

van jender ka leer vor lees, en vor mak gebruik van die ookal, wanneer jender sett nabin jender Hoes sonder, [-sonder] vor wees na Werk, vor kom bekend met die Psalmen (of Liederen.)’

⁶⁴ Original text: ‘En soo mi a ka skriev die af na die Creol Taal, soo as mi a ka leer die van die Creol sender, met die mi a ka hab Omgang na die Veertig Jaar, mi ben hier.’

⁶⁵ Original text: ‘En maski mi no ka treff die na all[-a]maal Woorden, soo heel acurad na die Oversett na die Creol Taal, doch die no ben soo, dat een, die ben Creol geboor, no sal kan leer vor ver staan die Woorden, die no ben em soo fraai bekend nochal. Doch die tesamenhang van die praat, gie ook die ver stand van soo enkel Woorden, die mi ka neem ut die Hollands, of Hogh dutchs Taal, per exempel: onberispelik; dat ben, as volk wandel soo rechtveerdig, dat die no hab vor gie ver wiet na sender, of vor vind vout na sender Wandel. En sommig ander Woorden meer: as verdrukking, dat ben: Vervolging, Leiden en swaar Goed, die kan kom over Volk.’

At the end of the preface Böhner places himself in a vulnerable position. There may be mistakes in his translation and in his way of writing, and he does not claim to be accurate as a scholarly writer and a master of the Creole language. The content, however, is the main concern, and it is better to receive this version than no version at all, he writes.

6. Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles

Most of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch texts were written by missionaries in order to connect to their community of Christianized enslaved people of African descent. Voorhoeve (1957: 179) is clear about their message: ‘The missionary linguist proceeds from the missionary command “Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them...”. He brings the content of the Christian message, as codified in a written document, the Bible, to someone else as recipient of this message.’ However, more or less consciously, the author also takes into account all kinds of other members of his audience. In this chapter, I focus on Bell’s theory of Audience Design and I relate it to the situation of the Moravian Brethren on the Danish Antilles.

6.1 Audience Design and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

The sources and subjects studied in the previous chapters focus on linguistic and social aspects related to the eighteenth century use of Dutch and Dutch Creole as used on the Danish Antilles. However, since these should be related to an actual communication situation the crucial component of my analysis of the authenticity of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts is the notion of Audience Design (Bell 184, 1992, 1997; see further below).

In Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 30-31, *Interpreting the 18th-century materials*) some first steps were made in discussing the possible artificiality of the manuscripts, which are nowadays stored in the Clarin-NEHOL corpus. Firstly, ‘German Bible translators were very critical about the use of the ‘right’ language variety’ (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 30). Further examples of this can be found in the metalinguistic comments in chapter 5, *Metalinguistic comments*.

The second argument against the artificiality of the texts is the fact that the Danish and German sources confirm each other (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 31). A first look at the translations of the New Testament of the Danish Lutheran Mission (Magens 1781) and the New Testament of the Moravian Brethren (1802), for example, shows not only differences, for instance in orthography, but also similarities in elements such as lexicon and word order that are not expected. Nonetheless, thorough comparison that also takes into account other available related texts shows a chronological differentiation in which the early texts of German translators resemble Magens’ translation. See for instance chapter 11 *Studying variants of texts to discover connection with audience*.

Before turning to the eighteenth century texts, I must pay some attention to the early years of the European colonization of the Danish Antilles. As shown in chapter 3 *Demography and language*, several European languages may have been used among the population of St. Thomas, Dutch was probably used as a lingua franca or even a koine (see 3.7). Among the enslaved people, the five enslaved indigenous Americans may have spoken an Amerindian, probably Arawakan,¹ language and several African languages are mentioned as having been used among the enslaved Africans. Although I suppose Dutch was used widely, even among enslaved people,

¹ Peter Bakker (p.c., August 11, 2017).

before the beginning of the eighteenth century, the possibility of an existing contact language is not inconceivable. In chapter 6.2, I focus on the comments about the use of Dutch in the colony.

In the preceding chapters, some variables relevant to the language choices of the missionaries were presented. Did their language use reflect the language that was actually in use by their intended audience and the rest of the colony? Even more precisely: was the missionary variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole actually a reflection of the language as used by native speakers?

1. Demographic evidence indicates that Dutch was in use as a contact language;
2. Inconsistency in texts show that there was most likely uncertainty about the use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as a written language and about a lack of knowledge of its grammatical system;
3. Metalinguistic evidence presents information about actual language use and the critical views of translators and other language professionals on the use of correct language.

In this chapter, I want to focus on the actual contact situation and the languages that were possibly involved in the communications between author and audience, however I will focus on the written texts.

According to Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 31), variation in the texts can be due to a number of factors. Three examples are mentioned:

- ‘(a) Audience design: was the material meant for a predominantly white urban population, or for the plantation slaves?
- (b) Linguistic competence and procedure: how well did the translator know Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and which variety? How were native speakers involved in the translation process?
- (c) Translation practice and style: it is clear that sometimes not even an attempt was made to approach the spoken language, e.g. when the Latin accusative *Jesum* appears in the texts. Did the missionaries attempt to create a separate liturgical register, fit for the conveyance of religious feelings and ideas?’

In Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 31) we also expressed the wish to use quantitative techniques. These were later made available by the Clarin-NEHOL corpus to study the types of variation present in the texts. When we were working on *Die Creol Taal* (1996), I had indeed hoped to be able to distinguish a high, urban variety, mostly used by Danish translators and spoken by creole colonists, from a ‘deep’ (sic) rural variety, mostly used by German translators in order to serve the Christianized enslaved Africans. A closer look was needed to nuance the difference between these traditions.

Six types of potential variation are mentioned in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 34-43), but these are accompanied by the remark ‘We are just beginning to unravel these alternatives’:

- ‘(a) grammatical expansion, in a gradual process of creolization;
- (b) a gradual drift away from varieties close to the Dutch superstrate to true slave speech, more heavily influenced by non-Dutch patterns;
- (c) increasing exposure to English lexicon and grammar;
- (d) natural changes, similar to those occurring in any language;
- (e) process of language decay and language death, in the long period during which Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was used less and less;
- (f) decreolization, i.e. shift away from the forms of the emerging creole under the influence of the (Dutch) standard in the early period.’

Recent research has indeed unraveled some of these issues. Dutch appeared to have been a kind of lingua franca in the early years of the colony, used by the multicultural society of the Danish Antilles, and as a target language of the enslaved Africans in this *société d’habitation* (see chapter 3). As we will see in several cases in this dissertation, the Creole language used by Moravian Brethren from about 1790 onwards seems more Dutch-like than the language used in texts which were from before 1785.

The influence of English as a target language, or as new upcoming lingua franca after the independence of the United States of America, is not only visible in the change of language in Wied’s Catechism of 1843, but also in the use of the English translation of Moravian source texts instead of the German versions which were used until the 1780’s. We see an increase of English-related terms in texts written or edited by Johann Auerbach (see 5.4.1), for instance manuscript 3231 and the first section of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (ms. 326, see chapter 10 *Replacements*). Since it was considered best to rewrite Creole missionary texts in 1784, this could be due to English influence on the speech community of the Danish Antilles, but also to the use of the English translation of Lieberkühn (1769/1820). Perhaps this Anglicization was also a signal of the process of language decay and death and of decreolization.

The language situation on the Danish Antilles in the eighteenth century was quite complex (Sabino 2012). The islands are a colony of Denmark and so Danish is used, however the most used European language is a variety of Dutch, (see chapter 3 and Van Rossem 2013c). These languages are also influenced by neighboring European languages like English, French and Spanish. A Dutch-based Creole was spoken in at least two varieties: the acrolectal Creole Hoch Kreol² and the basilect Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Other Creoles were probably also spoken on St. Thomas by at least

² The name *Hoch Kreol* is introduced by Pontoppidan (1881: 130) use : ‘Eine Sprache, die nur von ungebildeten Negern zum taglichen Verkehr gebraucht wurde, war natiirlich zu eng und zu arm an Ideen und Worten fur dieses weitere (sic) Feld, und man musste sich daher damit helfen dass man aus den Grundsprachen, hauptsachlich dem Hollandischen, vieles entlehnte. Hierdurch wurde eine hochkreolische, mehr klerikale, und eine plattkreolische Sprache fur den taglichen Umgang geschaffen.’ Sabino (2012: 210) translates this excerpt as follows: A language which was only used by uneducated Negroes for daily communication was naturally too narrow and too insufficient in ideas and words for this wider scope, and one had to therefore help oneself by borrowing a lot from the principal languages, chiefly from Dutch. By this means an acrolectal creole, more clerical, and a basilectal creole speech for daily business dealings was created.

some people: Virgin Islands Dutch Creole has several elements that must have been borrowed from Papiamentu, see Hesseling (1933).

Within the language area in which Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was used, a Creole language with English lexicon also emerged. It was this language, which eventually replaced Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as a vernacular on all the Danish Antilles. Virgin Islands English Creole probably came into existence in the eighteenth century, particularly on St. Croix; however, contemporary sources written in this variety are absent. This variety was mentioned for the first time in Auerbach's 1774 letter (see chapter 5.3 and 20.ch5.1): 'On St. Croix there are more blacks who can understand English than in St. Thomas and St. John, but still their English speech is mixed very much with the Creole and Guinea languages. It is Negro-English.'³ Another reference with regard to the language of St. Croix is made in the *Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Brethren* (Anon. 1810: 112):

'The English language seems to become more and more the prevailing one in that whole island [St. Croix], and the young natives begin to be ashamed of the Creol. The circumstance increases the difficulty of being understood; for now the Guinea Negroes, bringing their different tongues with them, learn neither English nor Creol, but are content with a jargon made up of three or four languages, by which they can scarcely make themselves intelligible to each other.' (1811)

Several years later, another interesting observation about the use of Creole is made in another issue of the *Periodical Accounts* (Anon 1821: 244):

'In answer to your inquiry respecting the Creole or Negro-English language spoken by the negroes in these islands, I beg to state, that although it is indeed true, that, among the better educated of the negroes, its use is on the decline, yet, by far the majority of the population neither speak nor understand any other language.'⁴ (1829)

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole may have disappeared as a written language on all of the Danish Antilles, but in the nineteen twenties and thirties, several informants from St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix were still able to present stories and wordlists in the language (De Josselin de Jong 1926, Nelson 1936, Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013, see also part IV. *Twentieth century sources*). Even as late as 1987, some informants could reproduce the language as rememberers (Adams Graves 1977, Sabino 2012, Sprauve 1976)⁵. See Chapter 13 *Frank G. Nelson's*

³ Transcription of original text: "Na S^t Croex die hab meer van die Negers, die sender kan verstaan English, as na S^t Thomas en S^t Jan, maar doch, sender <lm.English Praat> ka mingel ook altoeveel met die Creol- en Guinee-Taal. Da Neger-English die ben."

⁴ Since Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is sometimes, for instance in the *Periodical Accounts*, called Danish Creole, further research is necessary with regard to whether an English Creole is meant or whether this indication is used for Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

⁵ The question of whether there is not only a difference between the Creole language of St. Croix and of St. John and St. Thomas, but also a dialectal difference between St. John and St.

Wordlists in which I mention all known speakers of twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole).

6.2 Missionaries and the example of Surinam

Before focusing on the sociolinguistic model of audience design, I want to highlight an important factor in the communication situation on the Danish Antilles especially related to the missionary texts. Since most of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts were written and translated by missionaries, it is important to take a closer look at the influence of these people.

The Surinamese mission of the Moravian Brethren resembles the one on the Danish Antilles a lot, when related to translated texts. Fortunately, this situation is well described by Voorhoeve in a few contributions. Firstly, his contribution to missionary linguistics in general is clear: it is not the Bible itself which is ‘a magic book’ and ‘The message has no strength of its own, not in itself, but only in its relation to the one who responds to it’ (Voorhoeve 1957: 179):

‘Therefore the missionary linguist has the special commission to make this message, which, in regard to its form, is bound to a historical situation intelligible to someone else, so that man may respond to it. He should, therefore, not only know the message itself, both as regards form and content, but also the situation (the language and culture) of the one who is to respond. Only then can he make the message intelligible.’ (Voorhoeve 1957: 179)

Voorhoeve continues to show some aspects of making the message intelligible to the recipients, for instance, the missionary may assume that the recipient understands the message best when presented in his own familiar vernacular; however, it is possible the recipient does not want to receive it in his vernacular (Voorhoeve 1957: 180), but rather in a more elevated style, although missionary translators cannot afford to use the language that is desired by their native advisors.

‘However much he may constantly correct himself in practice, in theory he still continues to work with intelligibility as the basic linguistic idea’ (Voorhoeve 1957: 180)

This presents a complex situation: the missionary tries to be as understandable as possible in the local vernacular, but the native recipient wishes for a language that can be identified as the one of church and mission. Even in the 1950s, when a new Surinamese translation of the Bible was prepared, the translators took the idea that the language should not be the one of only a part of the community into consideration. Voorhoeve (1957: 181): ‘For instance, we find that many Surinam people are afraid of words which accentuate the *nengresee* (Negro side).’

Thomas is intriguing. Before Stolz (1986: 242) nothing was published regarding a dialectal difference between Virgin Islands Dutch Creole of St. Thomas and St. John. Based on the texts of De Josselin de Jong (1926) Stolz shows that the clearest difference between the dialects of St. Thomas and St. John seems to be the use of verb (*bigin* ‘start’, *mangké* ‘lack’, *kabá* ‘finish’) + *fo* ‘for’, which is more frequent among informants from St. John.

Voorhoeve is also somewhat critical about the translators:

‘Foreign missionaries have not always been gifted language learners. Their pronunciation of Creole was not always correct. The Moravian orthography was partly based on etymology, and many missionaries used to pronounce Creole as it had been written down. (...) The missionaries were not corrected by the Creoles (as would have occurred in normal situations) but imitated. So by institutionalized mispronunciation the foreign missionaries created a Creole variety, rather different in phonology from the common Creole, used in everyday life. The church style of speaking was imitated by others as the more fashionable style, which got superior status, because it was used on solemn occasions by people belonging to the former caste of the masters.’ (Voorhoeve 1971: 309)

The situation in Surinam up to 1863 is quite similar to the one in the Danish Antilles. Moravian Brethren started their missionary work there and one of them, Christian Ludwig Schumann, became the most productive missionary linguist. In the seven years that he was in Surinam (1776 – 1783), he compiled several dictionaries and translations. Most of these texts were not printed immediately: ‘They preferred to wait and see how the language developed after these new impulses.’ (Voorhoeve 1957: 182) The texts were only printed thirty years later, this was also the case for the Danish Antilles with Johann Böhner’s translations. Just like the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole equivalents, these texts appeared to be ‘daring in their choice of words, but sometimes a little awkward as regards style (1957: 183). Following translations were smoother (Wilhelm Treu) and grammatically perfected (Treu and Johannes Münch, and later on Wullschlägel).’

Again, we see a similarity to the situation in the Danish Antilles. The first translator worked in a descriptive way, described what he found and never tried to set up a standard of the language. In later texts, however, a missionary variety emerged.

Voorhoeve (1971: 310-313) presents several characteristics of Church Sranan and differences between this missionary variety and the widely used Sranan vernacular. He indicates that main differences can be found in phonology and in vocabulary. Syntactic differences are extremely rare. The only example Voorhoeve mentions in this respect is interesting for the study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole:

‘I have found some instances of the use of the all-purpose preposition *na* after or instead of the auxiliary verb *gi* (to give, to), but this has been found in written texts only. I do not think it is common in spoken church Creole’ (1971: 311)

In table 1, I present the characteristics of Church Sranan as described by Voorhoeve. In this table, I sum up the linguistic elements that were recognized as being related to the language of the missionaries.

	<i>Church Sranan</i>	<i>Sranan</i>	<i>Information</i>
Nasalization (Voorhoeve 1971: 311)	Final nasal consonants at end of word: <i>dem</i> ‘3PL’, <i>hem</i> ‘3SG’, <i>ben</i> ‘PST’, <i>tem</i> ‘time’	Nasalized at end of word: <i>de</i> /dEN/, <i>he</i> /(h)EN/, <i>be</i> /bEN/, <i>te</i> /tEN/	In CS pronounced as written word: /dEm/, /hEm/, /bEn/, /tEm/
Vowel quality (Voorhoeve 1971: 312)	/E/ in all positions: /hElpi./	/E/ only in closed syllables: /jEpi./	For other cases see Voorhoeve (1971: 312)
Vowel elision (Voorhoeve, 1971: 312-313)	Pronunciation of all syllables. Vowels are never elided. <Ma a haksi mi efu mi habi ñañam> ‘but he asked me if I had food’	Elision of unstressed syllables <maaksmefmaññāng> ‘but he asked mi if I had food’ Elision does not occur in cases of emphasis.	See also the initial /h/ in <i>haksi</i> ‘to ask’, which is a separate Church Sranan characteristic. /Aksi./ > E. ask ‘to ask’ is common in Sranan. Voorhoeve (1971: 313) ‘In church Creole vowels are never elided. This produces the impression that every element of the complete utterance gets special emphasis.
Vocabulary (Voorhoeve 1971: 310)	<i>Gnade</i> ‘grace’, <i>tolnaar</i> ‘publican’, <i>disciple</i> ‘disciple’ <i>Meli</i> ‘to touch’, <i>fika</i> ‘to leave behind’	<i>Meri</i> ‘to touch’, <i>fika</i> ‘to be trapped, to stay’, <i>Fasi</i> ‘to touch’, <i>lasi</i> ‘to leave behind’, <i>libi na</i> <i>baka</i> ‘lit. leave (to) behind’	Specialized vocabulary. Missionary jargon, which is also present in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

Table 1: Church Sranan versus Sranan

Alongside that, it shows that a possible missionary variant of the Creole emerged as an L2, used by German missionaries,⁶ but which was also accepted by the audience, the congregation of Creole speaking people. I will go into this further in section 6.4.3.

6.3 The theory of Audience Design

Our concern is the value of the translations and other missionary texts of the missionaries for understanding the spoken language of the (Christianized) enslaved Africans. Could the enslaved Africans understand these texts? Did these texts represent a language variety that was widely spoken? Bell (1984, 1992, 1997 & 2001) presents a model in which the communication situation is sketched in terms of a speaker who adapts his style to his audience. This audience can be divided in several groups based on three variables. The ones who are known, ratified (allowed to be a part of the audience) and addressed, are the *addressees*. Listeners who are known and ratified, but not directly addressed (like attendees) are the *auditors*. The ones who are not a part of the speech context, but who the speaker thinks must be taken into account, are the *overhearers*. The last potentially relevant category is *eavesdroppers*, who are absent in the contact situation and of whom the speaker is unaware, but are nevertheless a party to be considered.

One important difference between Bell (1984) and my application of his model, is the possible absence of the author at the moment of communication. In a situation of spoken language, an author must always be present, of course. In the case of written texts, the author can be the reader of the texts, but it is also possible the text is read by addressees (who thus become the speakers). In that situation, one should not see the model as one in which all participants act at the same moment, rather one but in which all participants can be individual readers, in possession of differing audience codes. As an example: a book can be read by anyone, but it is not written for anyone.

There are more factors which complicate the situation. According to Bell (1997: 240): “The basic principle of language style is that an individual speaker does not always talk in the same way on all occasions. Style means that speaker has alternatives or choices.” With regard to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, this means the translators had to take both their addressees and also the occasions on which the missionary texts were used into account. I suppose the bulk of the texts were written for similar situations: services and school. Texts by the same missionaries with differing aims may reflect different varieties of the language. The language the enslaved people learned to write letters in may have differed somewhat from the missionary variety used in the hymn books from 1749 onwards and the other religious texts from 1779 onwards.

Bell (1984) mentions ten maxims to clarify his theory on audience design and stylistic differences. I will list them and discuss their relevance in the context of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

⁶ As well as Moravian Brethren of German descent, we also find, for instance, Samuel Isles, who was British.

1. Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people. The audience is important, since the speaker adapts his languages to that of the addressee. With regard to this, we may think about the language the translators use in their manuscripts. The style used is the one which is used by the addressees or which may be expected by the addressees from the translators.

2. Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups. As can be seen in 6.2 about Church Sranan, the style of Creole that is used by the Moravian Brethren in Suriname is recognized as a different dialect, used in church or in other formal meetings. It is not considered to be wrong, but rather as the correct variety in these situations (Voorhoeve 1957: 187). Even though some elements differed from the correct Creole pronunciation, mispronunciation by the missionaries was not corrected, but was imitated in everyday life by the speakers of the Creoles (Voorhoeve 1971: 309). Voorhoeve: "The church style of speaking was imitated by others as the more fashionable style, which got superior status, because it was used on solemn occasions by people belonging to the former caste of the masters (1971: 309). See also 6.4.3.

3. Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. Since the Christianizing of the enslaved people may be considered the core business of the missionaries, their religious texts must be placed in that perspective. The addressee plays an important role and must be reached. Knowledge of the language and ideas of the addressees is vital to get good results. Feedback from the addressees can be considered important. In one of his letters Böhner happily writes that the language variety he used in his Bible translations is considered better than the one used in the New Testament by 'the Dane', which is obviously J.M. Magens, who also wrote the first printed grammar of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The author is responsive towards his addressees, auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers; he wants to connect best to the languages these participants use.

4. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual. With regard to this rule, we may assume all Creole texts were adjusted to connect to their addressees. In the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts and other texts, hardly any variation in language repertoire can be found. Most of the texts are in missionary jargon, in Magens' Grammar and Oldendorp's description, Hoch Kreol⁷ is presented, and the language of the enslaved people is described to some extent by Oldendorp. Although dialogues between speakers from different groups are included in both Magens (1770) and Oldendorp (2000, 2002), it is quite hard to distinguish these variants from each other. Rather than different varieties of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, there may have been a continuum with Virgin Islands Dutch on one side and basilectal Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on the other.

5. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from, and echoes, the variation which exists between speakers in the 'social' dimension. Although the missionary translations are mostly very solemn and formal,

⁷ Since the Creole as spoken by people of European descent can be divided in the variety presented in Magens (1770), which is called Hoch Kreol, and the missionary variety, it is perhaps better to distinguish Settler Creole from Church Creole. In this dissertation, I will not go into this subject.

they also contain several annotations in which the translator shows lexical and linguistic variation. In part III of this dissertation I will focus on these cases in my search for authentic Creole.

6. Speakers show a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, and to a lesser degree, for other audience members.⁸ In metalinguistic comments Böhner mentions to whom he addresses his texts. See for instance the preface of his 322 Gospel Harmony manuscript and the preface of the New Testament, which could also have been written by him. Another point with respect to this maxim is the reference which is made in the prefaces of several Bible translations to the use of High German or Dutch language to translate liturgical/religious terms which do not exist in Creole (see 6.4.3). Not only the addressees are educated by these terms, but also the auditors: other missionaries who are not (always) present in the speech context but who are known and ratified as participants, who may be pleased by the texts not deviating from missionary jargon.

It is not inconceivable the overhearers, known to the speaker/translator, but not participating in the speech context, and not ratified as part of the speech context, also play a role in the language variety used by the translator. In this regard we can think of non-Moravian missionaries, colonists or enslaved people who are not (willing to be) Christianized. The group Bell mentions as eavesdroppers can be represented in the Danish Antilles language situation by absent colonists or other islanders who are not present in the speech context but who should be taken in account. Perhaps we may consider the colonists who classed themselves as owners of enslaved people, and were absent in liturgical situation, as eavesdroppers, since the new jargon of the enslaved people may have been used in their plantations after being learned.

7. Style shifts due to changes in topic or setting derive their meaning and direction of shift from the underlying associations of topics or settings with typical audience members.⁹ In this case, style may be shifted on the basis of subject or situation according to the way the audience handles this subject or situation. Patrick (2008) writes: ‘The primary engine of style shifting is the speaker’s urge to gain the audience’s approval.’ It can be imagined that the translator will use a highly liturgical jargon when texts are more solemn, or when these are considered more official by the addressees. On the other hand, when a text is not official, the language of the translator can be much more similar to the vernacular. As mentioned above, Böhner and Magens highlight the use of German and Dutch liturgical terminology when Creole synonyms are absent. On the other hand, a daily conversation, as presented in Oldendorp or Magens, may show vernacular-like speech.

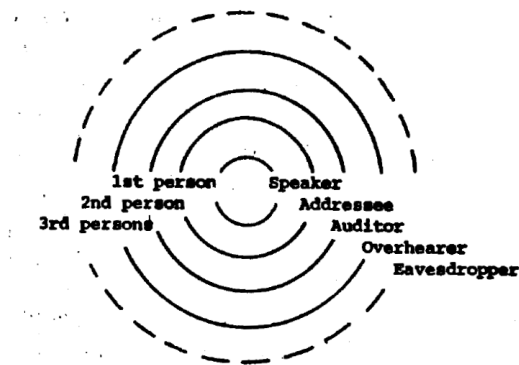
⁸ Bell (2001: 146) shows that the speakers not only *show*, but also *have* a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, and to the same degree, for other audience members. This indicates that speakers are better connecting to other audience members than was previously believed.

⁹ “Style-shifting according to topic or setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members.” (Bell 2001: 146:)

8. In addition to the ‘responsive’ dimension of style, there is the ‘initiative’ dimension. Bell (2001: 146) adds: where the style-shift itself initiates a change in the situation rather than resulting from such a change). Here the style shift itself *initiates* a change in the situation rather than *resulting* from such a change. This implies that a style shift of the missionaries may eventually lead to a change in the language. An example is the use of the initial /h/ by missionaries in e.g. *hatti* ‘heart’, while Sranan has *atti*. See 6.2 and 6.4.1. Patrick (2008): ‘Improvements can become sustainable in following texts and can be recognized as the ‘flavour’ of these groups.’

9. Initiative style shifts are in essence the result of ‘referee design’, by which the linguistic features associated with a group can be used to express identification with that group. Referee design may imply divergence from the addressee and convergence towards an absent reference group. It is especially prevalent in mass communication. In this case we also may refer to the use of religious jargon in the translations. It diverges from the vernacular, but must be known to become a member of the relevant speech context.

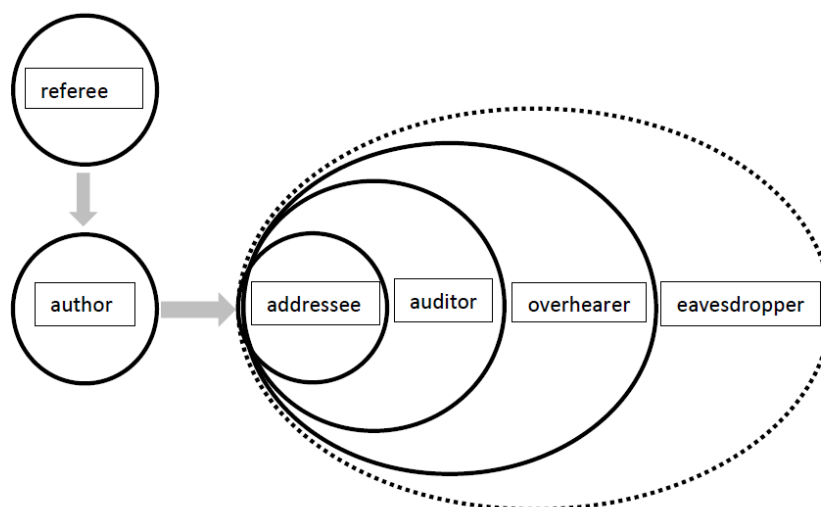
10. Bell (2001: 148) adds: ‘Style research requires its own designs and methodology.’ Hopefully I will show the relevance of this remark in the following sections.



Bell (1984: 159)

Bell initially pictures his model in concentric circles in which the speaker is in the middle and all members of the audience are at their own distance.

Ladegaard (1995: 99) presents an alternative model in which the speaker is in the middle of a triangle from which addressee, auditor and overhearer are the points.



I have slightly changed the layout of this model into one in which the author/speaker is outside his audience and in which the referee is also not a part of the audience, but is still within reach of the author's influence.

6.4 Audience Design: Moravian Brethren on the Danish Antilles

In the preceding section I have presented relevant information related to the eighteenth century communication situation in which missionaries, enslaved islanders, and others played a role. These were general remarks based on Bell's maxims. In the following sections I will focus on the separate groups related to the author and his audience.

The author/speaker is not dealt with in this chapter. Information about the translators and writers can be found in chapter 5, *Metalinguistic Comments*.

6.4.1 Referee design

With regard to the participants in the Audience Design Model, referee design differs from the others because of it has an initiative character while all others are responsive. It is influenced from the outside. According to maxim 9 of Bell: "(...) by which the linguistic features associated with a group can be used to express identification with that group. Referee design may imply divergence from the addressee and convergence towards an absent reference group. It is especially prevalent in mass communication." Bell (1992: 328) writes: 'In referee design, speakers diverge away from the style appropriate to their addressee and towards that of a third party, a reference group or model. Referees are third persons not physically present at an interaction but possessing such salience for a speaker that the influence language choice even in their absence'.

In the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, the absent reference group is formed by missionaries who follow the Moravian tradition in translating and creating texts, choosing their content, their layout and which texts to translate. Bell's (1984: 188-

189) outgroup design seems to connect best to this: both author and addressee agree on the prestige of the outgroup language and that fact makes it powerful. Alongside that, the language (in Bell's examples 'speech') differs from the language of addressee and author, however there is a need to identify with it. It is not the German or Danish language of the source texts on which I would like to focus, but on Christian jargon, which is institutionalized in the source texts. The referee society is considered superior and its culture as desirable, and the whole speech community acknowledges the status of the referee language (Bell 1984: 189). Again I would like precisely link this to the Christian jargon, of which terminology had to be borrowed from Dutch, which is not the vernacular of the referee. It is, however, the language which is the most closely related to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which is more or less known by the missionaries and which has the Christian terminology which is needed. Since we focus on written material, this referee design must be related to long term purposes, and not to temporary style shifts. Bell (1984: 188) indicates that referee design does not persuade addressees, but challenges their use of style or language, which in my opinion, can be related to the educational purpose of the translators that I will present in following examples.¹⁰

I feel uncomfortable about Bell differentiating between 'in-group' and 'out-group'. On the one hand, the author belongs to the in-group of Moravian Brethren, with its jargon and tradition, but on the other hand, the author belongs to the out-group, especially the long-term version, as Bell calls it, seems to connect much more to the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole speech community. The influence does not only have a linguistic character. When focusing on the written material from the Danish Antilles, the referee can be influential with regard to:

- the tradition of translation activities and techniques. Since all Moravian Missions explore translation activities, it is likely that missionaries were instructed on this;
- the choice and selection of the texts to translate and the order in which texts should be translated into Creole. Moravian Brethren were for instance instructed to first translate a hymn book and (a selection from) the Gospel Harmony;
- the Church/Missionary jargon to be used in the translated texts. See the following remarks about the educational function of the use of missionary jargon. See chapter 5;
- metalinguistic comments with regard to biblical and missionary jargon. Not only was missionary jargon used, it was also explained in prefaces and glosses;

¹⁰ In Bell (1997), referee design is extensively discussed, but it seems not to connect to what I had in mind. It seems as if the initiative of referee design is taken by the author, while, in my opinion, it is more or less demanded by tradition or 'in-group'. See also Bell (1992).

- the choice of language of the source texts: German, English (Moravian Brethren), Danish (Danish Lutheran Mission). In Moravian translations, the choice of Lieberkühn's Gospel Harmony (1769/1820) was mentioned, however, the use of the English translation can be inferred in several places in for instance ms. 3231.

In metalinguistic comments translators and writers show that the language they use in their texts is highly colored by church jargon. Both Magens, in his 1781 New Testament, and Böhner, in the preface of manuscript 322 and in the preface of 326, write that words to express terms unknown in Creole should be borrowed from Dutch:

Magens (1781):

'Although the author of the Creole Grammar has given a warning following the dialogue between a catechist and a pagan and has presented there that it is necessary for religious matters to follow the Dutch language as the right origin of the Creole one, so I am obliged to give a warning too, that I have followed the same rule in this translation of the New Testament. I have followed the Creole way of speaking everywhere **but I did not want to use the ordinary words and expressions, because these do not fit in this clerical matter.** And I myself have heard that the whites as well as the negroes were disturbed and offended when they heard one or the other in some sermon or spiritual discourse, that they used such ordinary words, which they yet use in daily interaction.'¹¹ (315, 1781)

Böhner (1779):

'I had to use and keep a German and Dutch word here and there, and **I consider it not harmful when we also improve the Creole language with words which it does not have**, which can be made clear to the Creoles.'¹² (326, 1779)

Böhner (1780):

'And although I did not find it in all words, very accurately in the Translation into the Creole language, it is still not the case that one who is born Creole, will not be able to learn to understand the words which are not known to him very well yet. But

¹¹ Original text: Maskee Autor van die Creols Grammatica ka giev een Waerskowing aster die Samenspraek tyssen een Cateheet en een Heiden en ka wies daer dat die bin noodsaecklig na geestlige Saeken for volg die hollands Spraek als die regte Oorsprong van die Creolse, soo mie bin verpligt for giev een Waerskowing ookal dat mie ka volg die selve Regel na deese Oversetting van die Nywe Testament. Mie ka volg die Creolse Spreek Manier overal maer mie no ha wil gebryk die gemeene Woorden en Spreken, voordiemaek die no pas na een geestlig Materie; en mie selv ka hoor dat soowel die Blanco als die Negers ha wees gestoort en ha erger sender over for hoor van die een, of van die ander na eenig Predikasje of geestlig Discours, dat sellie ha gebryk sylke gemeene Woorden, die sellie dog gebryk in daglig Omgang.

¹² Ich habe auch hie u. da ein hoch deutsh* u. Holländisch Woort gebrachen u. by behaten müssen, u. ich achte [-es] es nicht für <↑s>chaden wenn wir auch die Creol Sp mit Wöter die si nicht hat, etwas ver bessern die man doch den Creolen kan Ver [-s*..*d]<↓staend>lich machen.

the context of the language, gives also the understanding of some words which I have taken out of the Dutch or High German language, for example: *onberispelik*; which is, when people go so righteous, others do not have reason to make a reproach to them, or to find mistakes in their behavior.’¹³ (322, about 1780)

We see his advice about borrowing Dutch words in cases where Creole lacks fitting Christian terminology already in Oldendorp (2000: 714-715). This should however be done carefully, since good knowledge of Dutch is necessary to choose the right words.

The external factor which influences the author, and which is not a part of the immediate audience, is mainly the in-group related to tradition of Moravian Brethren. The author follows the format of translation; he connects to earlier written texts, and translates the texts in the order which was normally used for missionary texts. It does not ask for the author to connect to (a part of) his audience, but rather to educate it.

Elements in eighteenth century missionary texts which can be recognized as elements of referee design are, for instance, the incorporation of references in the translated texts which are of no use for understanding the text itself. A liturgical term which is clarified, is an indication of auditor design: it is helpful for the audience to understand the text. Referee design caused changes which are the other way around. Missionary and liturgical elements are added which are useful in helping the audience to understand the text, but are however helpful for educational purposes and specifically for understanding the original bible text:

- (1) *Stoel* <*Troon*> ‘chair <throne>’- *Stoel* is widely used, however the addition of *Troon* gives extra information about the concept.
- (2) *Tobbo* <*met reten*> ‘bucket <firkins apiece>’ – The Creole word is accompanied by a term which is hardly used outside of the bible and which is of no use for understanding the text.
- (3) *Feest* <*Pingster*> ‘Feast <Pentecost>’ – The term *Feest* is too wide to only indicate this particular feast and therefore the Christian name is added.

In chapter 12 *Additions*, I will go into this subject in more detail, presenting more examples and theoretical background, in order to also explain why recognition of elements which were incorporated in the texts under the influence of referees are importance for studying the authenticity of the Creole language used.

¹³ En maski mi no ka treff die na all[-a]maal Woorden, soo heel acurad na die Oversett na die Creol Taal, doch die no ben soo, dat een, die ben Creol geboor, no sal kan leer vor ver staan die Woorden, die no ben em soo fraai bekennt noch al. Doch die tesamenhang van die praat, gie ook die verstand van soo enkel Woorden, die mi ka neem ut die Hollands, of Hogh dutchs Taal, per exemp el: onberispelik; dat ben, as volk wandel soo rechtveerdig, dat die no hab vor gie ver\wiet na sender, of vor vind vout na sender Wandel.

6.4.2 Addressee design

Bell calls this participant in his model the main character in the audience (Bell 1984: 159). He is known, ratified and addressed. The addressee is present at the moment of reading, is a part of the group, the message is addressed to him and the author is aware of the addressee. Bell (1984: 161-171) pays a lot of attention to this participant in the communication situation, and analyzes this role thoroughly. It is the addressee who heavily colors the style which the speaker uses.

Since the addressee is so intensely related to the author, we may even be able to know the name of this addressee. In verbal communication, as Bell discovered, immediate style shifting can be recognized. In written texts we have to depend on metalinguistic comments or texts which are explicitly addressed to specific people. In the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, although it cannot directly be shown in the eighteenth century texts, the role of the addressee must have been of great importance. The addressees are known to us (see the following paragraph) but unfortunately the number of texts in which they are directly addressed, are very limited.

In the eighteenth century community of Moravian Brethren of the Danish Antilles, some enslaved African people were the so-called *helpers* of the missionaries, intermediaries between the brethren and the enslaved people who were not yet part of the community.¹⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century, helper Cornelius plays an important role and it is his comment which appears to become the most interesting feedback of a helper. It is referred to in a letter from Johann Böhner (August 2, 1781):

‘So has a local gentleman [J.M. Magens, CvR], who is a native of St. Thomas, [and therefore a] Creole, but who has fallen into extreme poverty, translated the New Testament into the Creole language, which has been printed in Copenhagen in the first quarter of 1781, [...] It did not go down well, it's too much close to Danish language, and otherwise very imperfect and *our helper Brother Cornelius does not like it at all, and he wishes that from us at least the New Testament in their language would be printed, because they [think] my translation is clear and measured to speaking their dialect.* [my italics, CvR] So everyone who is able to read and who owns a hymn booklet, can buy a New Testament to go with it. It would be a great pleasure for those who are able to read.’¹⁵

¹⁴ Manuscript 335 in our Clarin-NEHOL corpus is highly interesting in this regard as the tasks of these helpers are described, and the list of names of helpers (ms. 127) are given in it.

¹⁵ My translation, CvR. Original text Johann Böhner (August 2, 1781) “So hat ein hiesiger Herrn, der ein geborner St. Thomas Creol ist, ist aber in grose Armuth geraten| das neue Testament in die Creol Sprache übersetzt, welches in Kopenhagen im ersten 4tel Jahr 1781 gedruck worden, und Br. Martin M[ack]. hat eind exemplar mitbegracht, welches der Hr General Schimmelmänn ihm gelehnt! Er ist aber nicht gut gerahten, es ist zu viel nach Dänischer Sprache, und sonst sehr unvoll komme*n* und unserren helfer Br. Cornelius gefällt es auch gar nicht, und er wünscht daß von uns zum wenigsten das Neun Testament in ihre Sprache möchte gedruckt werden, weil ihnen meine übersezung deutlich u. ihrer Mund Art zu reden an gemessen ist, so konte sich ein jede*s* das lesen kan u. ein gesang büchlein hat, auch das neue Testament da zu kaufen, das würde deiner die lesen können eine grose freude seyn.”.

Sensbach (2005: passim) presents interesting insights into the organization of the early mission of the Moravian Brethren. Several of the first helpers are mentioned (Sensbach 2005: 73-76) among whom is Domingo Gesu, also known as Mingo. He was the Caribbean born son of African parents. His mother was Marotta/Madlena, who wrote the African Letter in Von Zinzendorf (1742). Sensbach shows that Mingo was already baptized in St. Eustatius in the Reformed Church; he was literate and spoke Dutch and German. We know that he translated Zinzendorf's letter to the enslaved people of African descent into Creole (Oldendorp 2002: 335 and 356, Oldendorp 1987: 360). He was an enslaved African of the Danish colonist J.L. Carstens, who we know supported the Moravian Brethren in several ways and who expressed to Friedrich Martin in the diary of November 1736 that he wanted to translate the Gospel into Creole. Mingo even travelled to Denmark at least once (Sensbach 2005: 73-74).

Other enslaved helpers were Andreas and Petrus, who traveled the countryside (See Sensbach 2005: 74, Oldendorp 2002: for instance 188, 208, 259, Oldendorp 1987: for instance 320, 328, 332), and Abraham (Sensbach 2005: 74-75, Oldendorp 2002: for instance 235, 356), who are all mentioned by Stein (1985) as writers of the earliest letters. We also have some biographical background on some of these people, partly because they were mentioned by Oldendorp in his extensive history of the Moravian mission on the Danish Antilles (Oldendorp 2000; 2002), but also because it was them who were the most important writers of the so-called *slave letters* (see chapter 4.2). Rebecca, for instance, cannot be left unmentioned. Her life and role in the mission is extensively described by Sensbach in *Rebecca's Revival* (2005).

The above mentioned Cornelius became one of the most important helpers. His role was already described in a biography shortly after his death in the Periodical Accounts of the Moravian mission in 1801-1805 (Anon 1801-1805: 181-190) and Degn (2000: 338-345) added information about him in his work about the Schimmelmänn family. His portrait is in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut. Cornelius was known for his knowledge of languages; he used Creole, Dutch, Danish, German and English (Anon 1801: 184). According to Stein (1985), Cornelius was the one who was well aware of typical Creole elements that were not used in letters until that time, but that were present in other Creole texts. He introduced the use of *ka* 'PRF' in the slave letters. Degn (2000: 343) shows a Dutch letter by him, which resembles Dutch letters of native speakers of the Netherlands.

A 1760 list of helpers is stored in the Unitätsarchiv (Herrnhut, Germany)¹⁶ and could be helpful for future research for studying their influence on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. This manuscript, which is written by Georg Weber, who was also one of the writers of the first Virgin Island Dutch Creole hymn book (1749-1753), contains information about 18 helpers (9 male, 9 female) and 4 servants (all female) from St. Thomas, 22 helpers (10 male, 12 female) from St. Croix and 10 helpers (5 male and 5 female) of St. John. Only one remark is made about language: female helper Caritas from St. Croix speaks mostly English and broken Creole.¹⁷

¹⁶ Stein (1986, ms. 127).

¹⁷ Weber (1760: 31): 'Sie redt meist Englisch, u. gebrochen Cariolisch.'

The structure of communication within the mission of the Moravian Brethren consists of a system in which missionaries instructed their helpers, and these helpers became the intermediates between missionaries and the communities of Christianized enslaved ones. In manuscript 335, *Plicht van Een helper Broeder en Suster* 'Duty of a helper brother and sister' (unfortunately not dated) the tasks of these helpers are described extensively. A short impression:

1. to visit those who are ill and in need;
2. to visit all on plantations and in the houses in Tappus to see if they live in love and if all goes well;
3. to see if someone goes astray and in sin;
4. to look after it, that all goes orderly;
5. to take care that nothing which is discussed in the congregation will be given away outside of it;
6. to have a part in the services once every five weeks;
7. to open the church doors and windows etcetera before the service starts;
8. to take care no stranger takes part in Communion and to help new members when to kneel, etcetera;
9. the sisters have to clean the church and they have to let the women with crying babies out of the service;
10. to help during the *liefdemaal* 'lit. love meal, communion'.

Because of their tasks and role in the community as intermediate between European missionaries and the society of enslaved people in the broadest sense, they must have been able to use and understand several languages.

Sensbach (2005: 82) includes an interesting observation in which the African slave Matamba of Jan de Wind's plantation, who in 1737 felt the need to get in contact with the 'white men who were supposed to take care of him and instruct him.' He himself already visited prayer meetings, but the most remarkable thing Martin does is that he presents Matamba a booklet to find God's word. Matamba taught himself to read. Unfortunately, the booklet was confiscated later on, but Matamba already acted as the local helper/fisherman. (Sensbach 2005: 85).

Since Creole books were not available at that time, Martin must have presented him with a Dutch or perhaps even a German work. Imagine this situation: an African Loango slave, of the plantation of the Zeelandic/Flemish speaking Jan de Windt, in the Dutch lingua franca speaking society, getting in contact with the German speaking Martin (who saw the advantages of using Creole, see Oldendorp 2002: 157-158), discussing his need with another *carabeer* (enslaved African), gets a Dutch or German liturgical work and teaches himself to read.

6.4.3 Auditor design

Not directly addressed (by name), but members of the community who are present, are the auditors. These are known and ratified, and the author is aware of their presence. They are however, not directly addressed to.

In this case, it is quite hard to say who was part of this group. I suppose this part of the audience was composed of both enslaved members of the congregation and European ones. Since the L1's of the auditors were different, ranging from German

and Dutch to Creole and perhaps African languages, it is well possible that a jargon was used which could be understood by all auditors. This widely understood Creole must have been suitable for all participants in this situation, and so it might have been highly colored by Church Jargon (see Van Sluijs 2014b: 155-156).

Auditor-related emendations show Creole aspects, from lexicon to word order, and explanations of jargon. The use of a widely understood Creole that must have been used among a community in which L1 (Christianized enslaved people) and L2 speakers (European missionaries) speak with each other. In 6.2.1 I presented the example of Church Sranan which is actually the interpretation of the Moravian Brethren of Sranan which was used in meetings of the congregation. The use of jargon, for instance in lexicon, see Table 1, show the same words as were introduced in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Another interesting fact that Sensbach mentions about Christianized enslaved Africans in the community of the Moravian Brethren is their provenance and the languages they used within their African community. Oldendorp mentions and describes the groups of African enslaved people (Oldendorp 2000: 365-456), including a word list of their languages (Oldendorp 2000: 457-465), and Sensbach (2005: 84-85) shows that about 40% of the newly baptized people had been born in Africa: 'Of the latter, more than half came from a few nations or regions: 39 from Amina, 32 from Watje, 31 from Loango, 11 from Popo, and 9 each from Kongo and Kazangtee. The rest represented 29 other points of African origin, mostly along the Gold and Slave Coasts. This presents information about the L1 of the African-born members of the Moravian Brethren congregation. It is possible that authors had to modify the language they used in their translations for these speakers; however, examples of African influence are beyond the scope of my research. For elements of African languages which eventually entered Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, see for instance Sabino (2012: *passim*) and Van Sluijs (2017), with special attention to grammatical elements.

6.4.4 Overhearer design

This group within the audience stands aside from, but is welcome to join the auditors. The author is aware of these listeners and tries to connect to them by the use of explanatory items, connecting jargon, politeness-marked pronouns and/or bilingual language shift (see Bell 1984: 176). In the case of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, at least the use of politeness-marked pronouns is absent. In today's Dutch pronouns marking politeness are used in 2SG: formal *u* 'you' versus informal *jij* 'you' and 2PL: formal *u* 'you' versus informal *jullie* 'you'. In German 2SG *Sie* 'you PL' versus informal *du* 'you SG'.

132 II. Methodology and starting points

Explanatory items appear in our corpus. One example is presented here (322: par. 14, p.40):

The image shows a handwritten note in Dutch Creole. The text is written in cursive and reads: 'Leer-Baas Rabbi, (dat ben (Meester) na ons Taal) Waar Joe woon? En a See na Sender'. The word 'Leer-Baas' is written on the left, and the rest of the sentence follows. There are some corrections or additions in parentheses.

In this case *Rabbi* 'rabbi' is recognized as a Hebrew word which needs translation and so in all Bibles the translation into 'master' or another synonym is made. In the example above, the word *Meester* 'master' apparently needed another annotation, since *Meester* can also be interpreted as 'owner of enslaved people'. Comparison of all Virgin Islands Dutch Creole variants of this verse shows an interesting insight into audience design:

- 321 En sender a see tot Em: Rabbi, (dat ben na Creoltaal, Baas) waar ben joe na Herberg?
- 322 en sender a see na Em: Rabbi (dat ben (Meester) na ons Taal)<lm.Leer-Baas> waar Joe woon?
- 315 en sellie ha seg na hem Rabbi! (die bin Meester na ons Tael) waer ju woon?
- 3231 Sender a see na Em: Rabbi, (:die ben na ons Taal, Meester,:) na waar Joe le woon?
- 3232 En sender a see na Em: Rabbi /:die ben in die Oversetting, Meester:/ waar Joe ben na Herberg?
- 318 en sender a see na Em: Rabbi, (die ben na ons Taal, Meester,) Waar Joe ben na Herberg?
- 3110 en sender a see na Em: Rabbi, (die ben in die Oversetting Meester) waar Joe ben na Herberg?

- E They said unto him, Rabbi, (which is to say, being interpreted, Master) where dwellest thou?
- G. Sie aber sprachen zu Ihm: Rabbi (das ist verdolmetschet, Meister) wo bist Du zur Herberge?
- D. En zij zeiden tot Hem: Rabbi! (hetwelk is te zeggen, overgezet zijnde, Meester) waar woont Gij?

In the oldest text, 321, Böhner did not literally copy the Bible verse but rather translated *Meister* into *Baas*: *die ben na Creoltaal, Baas* 'which is boss in Creole'. The word *Baas* is widely used in this context and can be found in several sources.

In the second text chronologically, 322, the two-step translation is made. Since *Meester* not only means 'schoolmaster', but also 'owner', another annotation was needed. The source text, Lieberkühn 1769/1820, is recognizable, and the church jargon is converted into a new, unique and descriptive term *Leer Baas* 'lit. learn boss'. No texts translate the word *Meester*, not even the most Creole looking texts 322 and 315.

In 321, the change is made towards the auditors. In 322, however, the reason for the change could also be to conserve the construction in the source text (referee design) with an explanatory note.

Further comparison of this verse shows many more interesting changes and similarities, like the use of *Herberg* 'inn' in the German source text, the manuscripts 321 and 3232 and in printed works 318 and 3110, while 322, 315 (the only Danish variant) and 3231 use a less metaphorical description 'where dwellest thou/where do you live?'

6.4.5 *Eavesdropper design*

The role of the eavesdropper is not explicitly explained in Bell (1984). In his example of the so-called Jimmy Carter Playboy-interview (Bell 1984: 177-178), it becomes clear that an eavesdropper can be important. Someone who is not directly addressed, who is not a part of the known audience and of whom someone is not aware, can easily be forgotten and so Carter's remarks related to the character of Playboy Magazine, were picked up and heavily criticized by an audience of which Carter was aware, but obviously not in this situation.

From this example, I suppose that the author's use of proper language and content, in the eyes of an absent, though influential participant who has the possibility of being informed about the message of the author, should be considered eavesdropper design. This participant is known, however perhaps not personally. With regard to our situation, I consider the local authorities, and planters who are not related to, and possibly even opposed to the Moravian Mission to be the eavesdroppers.

In the Danish Antilles the introduction of Christianity to the enslaved Africans, was an event of great historical import. In the first place, knowledge of biblical, particularly New Testament, ethics, put the behavior of colonists in a critical perspective. The ability to read, which was taught by missionaries, opened doors for enslaved Africans, especially to gain new knowledge independently. Sensbach (2005: 75-76), for instance, shows examples of enslaved people who, on the basis of their newly gained Christian knowledge, got into discussion with their masters about the correct way to lead a Christian life.

In a situation of oppression and inequality, one may expect that the rules and lifestyle of the ruling class should be obeyed for the continuation and stability of such a society. In texts presented to the oppressed class or to interested people sympathizing with this class, eavesdropper design can be recognized when critical notes or content are left out of texts, or when critical notes are transformed into toned down messages.

This aspect of audience design is quite hard to recognize. A researcher should consider which passages could be offensive, and then compare the source text to the translated one. In only one situation I suspect a translator of eavesdropper design:

'I will skip the section about fasting, since this is a subject which is not common among the Negro people, just like among the Copts in Egypt.'¹⁸ (321: 52)

¹⁸ Original text: <bm.Den saz von Fasten will ich übergehen; weil es eine Sache ist die unter dem Neger Volk nich üblich ist, als wie bey den Copten in Egypten.>

The passage about fasting is only skipped in the chronologically first variant of the Gospel Harmony. Did the translator, Böhner, expect a discussion with authorities about this subject? On the one hand, a period of fasting may not have been common in the original African culture of the enslaved people; on the other hand, the amount of food available, may also not have allowed a period of fasting.

6.4.6 Overview

<i>Role</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Native language</i>	<i>Second languages</i>
<i>Author:</i>	translator/writer	German, English	Dutch, Creole, other European languages like English and/or Danish
<i>Referee</i>	Unitas Fratrum	German, English	Dutch, English ¹⁹
<i>Addressee:</i> Known Ratified Addressed Aware	Christianized enslaved and freed people known by name	Creole, African language	Dutch, other European languages
<i>Auditor:</i> Known Ratified Aware	The community of Christianized enslaved Africans and missionaries	Creole, African languages, Dutch, German, English, English Creole,	Dutch, Creole, other European languages like Danish Because of the multilingual situation, one may expect a church jargon or a widely understood Creole

¹⁹ It is interesting to mention that the *Observations upon the Course of the black People for St. Thomas, Croix and John* of the Conference in Neu Herrnhut, April 28th 1770 (UA R.15.B.a. no 21.a), were in English and not in Dutch or German.

<i>Over-hearer:</i> Known Aware	Others present, but not addressed, planters, interested parties, not (yet) Christianized enslaved Africans	Creole, African languages, Dutch, Danish	Use of synonyms and explanatory items from different languages can be expected, since these persons are not familiar with the jargon of the Moravian Brethren
<i>Eavesdrop pers:</i>	The ones not present, but to be taken into account with, like authorities, government, other settlers	Dutch, Danish	Use of proper language and content can be expected

Table 2: Schematic overview of the different groups among the audience

In Bell's model, another group, not within the group of audience, but of considerable importance, are the referees. The author is a part of this group and/or identifies himself with this group. It is easy to imagine that the author uses content or jargon that is related to this group, and refers to his referees in other ways such as through style and ways of editing.

Perhaps an example will clarify this. The translators who belonged to the Moravian Brethren translated liturgical texts related to important events like services, baptism, marriages, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, etcetera. Hardly any other texts are known or kept. In metalinguistic comments, both Moravian Brethren and Lutheran missionaries highlight the lack of religious jargon in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and indicate explicitly that it is necessary to borrow from Dutch vocabulary for the missionary texts when a proper Creole alternative is not available. Since the native language of the referees was German or Danish, their jargon is likely to be influenced by these European languages. In the second half of the eighteenth century, English may also have been of some influence with regard to the referees, since the English translations might have been used as source texts, and English-speaking missionaries may have become part of the community.

With regard to the preference for, and the choice of, liturgical texts, the referees are also influential. The Moravian Brethren used, for instance, Lieberkühn's Gospel Harmony (1769) in several missionary posts and so this text was often translated earlier than the New Testament. The referees in the case of the texts translated by German Moravian Brethren are the community of Moravian Brethren, not only present on the Danish Antilles, but also in related missions, such as Surinam, Pennsylvania, the Cape and Greenland.

6.5 Audience Design in the Danish Antilles according to Oldendorp

C.G.A. Oldendorp (1721-1787)²⁰ made the most extensive contemporary description of audience design practices in his description of the grammar of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, written in 1768, but printed in 2000 (2000: 681-724).

Oldendorp mentions a group of literate enslaved Africans on one of the first pages (Oldendorp 2002: 773-774), in the section about the preferred orthography for writing Creole. The orthography of the texts should be the Dutch one, since there are no printed texts in Low-Saxon or Low German. There are also a lot of distorted Dutch words in Creole, which Oldendorp argues, will not be recognized when not written in Dutch orthography, because Dutch is the language in which the Africans get their instructions in reading and writing.²¹ Using a creole orthography for Dutch words would give them a strange image. The Dutch orthography is already used in several booklets. The Africans²² who already know how to read are already used to it and teach it to others the same way. I consider this use of Dutch orthography not of special use for the auditors; it is, however, of importance for the missionaries themselves and the ones who had already learned to read and write.

Another problem is variation among the speakers of the Creole themselves. Oldendorp (2002: 773-774) states that since all Africans use the variety of Creole based on their own mother tongue, according to their imagination, and according to the naked ear, which differs from person to person and which is often used by only some Africans and in a restricted area, it is necessary to use one general orthography. He considers the Dutch one to be most appropriate. The missionaries of the Moravian Brethren who all understand Dutch could easily learn this.

People who use Hoch Kreol are perhaps not the addressees of the translators, but are still within the audience design framework as overhearers. Oldendorp (2002: 806) calls this variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole more graceful than that of the Africans: these speakers also use Dutch words rather than Creole words when communicating with each other in order to create some distance from the African variety. Oldendorp thinks that one can learn the Creole better from an African than from a white man, because the latter mixes his language with many unnecessary borrowings from European languages. Those who deal with Africans, should remember to use Creole, because it differs enormously from Dutch (Oldendorp 2000: 806). This remark is interesting for the study of auditor design (see for instance metalinguistic comments in chapter 6 about this).

Hesseling (1905: 24-25) quotes Oldendorp (1777: 263) when he sketches the situation in which the children of colonists learn the Creole from the enslaved women. These children learn the Creole as their first language and no other language is learned properly afterwards. Oldendorp suggest that despite this, the Creole is spoken in a more refined way by the white people than by the people of African descent. We keep this in mind in our case studies in part III of this dissertation.

²⁰ See *Lebenslauf von Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp* (Meier et al. 2010: 1-8).

²¹ Oldendorp (2002: 492-493) shows an example of a text written by the enslaved woman Sibylla of which the original text was edited towards Dutch orthography by Oldendorp. Stein (p.c.) suspects this was done to connect to a European audience. (See also Oldendorp 2002: 188, note 23).

²² German *Schwarzen* lit. 'Blacks' is translated into *Africans*.

6.6 Conclusions: authenticity and the Audience Design Model

The Audience Design Model makes it possible to further understand and model the language situation of the community of the Moravian Brethren and their congregations. However, when we focus on our search to demonstrate the authenticity of the texts and to distinguish authentic elements from elements introduced by the missionaries, two aspects are of most interest to us:

1. *Auditor design.* The texts are formulated in Creole, but a Creole made accessible to a broad group of listeners, including people who used Virgin Islands Dutch as a L2. The authors respond to the language of this group in the audience to connect best.
2. *Referee design.* The prestige of the source texts and the tradition of the mission, as felt by both author and audience, has the initiative. An example of this is the use of missionary, Christian jargon, that has been borrowed from Dutch, or German, and is included in the language used by the author. The educational and traditional point of view demanded from the missionaries meant that elements unknown to people not familiar with the Christian tradition were included.²³

The first point seems to lead us to linguistic elements in the texts which not are not only included to improve the texts toward L1-speakers, but also to make the missionary variant of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole understandable for L2-learners. It is the Creole which authors assume is best to use in written communication to connect with their audience. The presence of these elements shows that the authors were aware of the variant to use and the way to improve it connect to the audience. These examples prove the authenticity of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Texts.

The second point suggests that the language contained a great deal of missionary jargon, including lexical items directly borrowed from German or English source texts and Dutch vernacular/lexifier language, in order to educate the audience and to connect to the community of Moravian Brethren and their tradition of composing missionary texts. These examples are the ones which can be recognized as artificial. They give the texts a European, bookish look. The situations in which these examples are found need to be studied with special care, in order to distinguish ‘artificial’ examples from authentic alternatives.

²³ Schilling-Estes (2004: 384-386) describes the responsive and the initiative dimensions of the Audience Design Model, which can be linked to auditor and referee design, respectively.

7. The Writing Process: distinguishing two types of corrections

Why would anyone change a text which was written only a few moments ago? There are only two plausible reasons: something is obviously wrong and must be corrected, or the text should be improved to meet the requirements of the writer in connecting to the intended reader. In this chapter I will focus on changes which were made to correct obvious mistakes during the process of writing in order to set those apart from the improvements which may present insight into audience design in the translation process.

7.1 Introduction

After focusing on the heritage of the vernacular of the Danish Antilles, the uncertainties of the writers about correct language use, metalinguistic comments about the correct language to use and the study of the best language variety to connect to the audience of the Moravian Brethren, we must not forget that not all changes in the Virgin Island Dutch Creole manuscripts were meant to be improvements towards this most appropriate variety. Many changes were, in fact, necessary to correct obvious mistakes which were made during the process of writing.

To distinguish the corrections of obvious mistakes from the improvements of the language variety towards the audience, I focus on the process of writing as extensively described by Duinhoven (1975) to clarify the transmitted language used in the famous Dutch medieval novel *Karel ende Elegast*.

An important problem is the fact that most of the missionary texts are unique. Because of the initially small number of new members of the community, printing of the texts turned out expensive and unprofitable.¹ With exception of some early hymn books, no texts were printed in Dutch Creole in the early period. Although the Moravian Brethren had already started educating the enslaved African people to read and write starting in the 1730s, the first texts were in Dutch but were also full of Creole elements. Dutch ABC-booklets are used, Dutch religious texts are mentioned and the language of the early slave letters appears to be Dutch with Creole influence and not fully Creole (see chapter 4, *Uncertainty and changes in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts*). Longer missionary texts only became available for a larger audience after the publication of Magens' New Testament in 1780. The manuscripts were highly valued. There were only a few copies in existence and these had to be used on at least a weekly basis and were eventually stored in the Archives of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut (Germany) and Bethlehem (Pennsylvania, US). The only work which we know was present on the US Virgin Islands in the beginning of the twentieth century, was the manuscript of

¹ In chapter 5, *Metalinguistic comments* I used information about the numbers of printed copies which were distributed among the enslaved members of the community of the Moravian Brethren.

Isaiah which was brought to the attention of De Josselin de Jong during his fieldwork on February 6, 1923.²

The fact that only one or a few manuscripts were available also has an advantage for later researchers like me. Creating a new copy could be not just a duplication process, but also be a true re-edition in which the translator/copier could include his ideas and improvements of the texts, which yields a rich source of linguistic and philological insights. See for instance the task Auerbach was given in 1784 (see chapter 5, *Metalinguistic comments*) to create a new translation of the Gospel Harmony to adjust the language to modern needs. An edition in large numbers, like the edition of the Gospel Harmony in 1833 in 2000 copies (see Chapter 5, *Metalinguistic Comments*), immediately stops the creative process of modifying the texts to adapt them to changing language practices.

It is obvious that missionaries need to use a language which is best understood by the intended parishioners. Since it is not efficient to educate the ones being Christianized in the European language of the missionaries, the missionaries need to connect to the language of the enslaved African people. In every new copy of a liturgical text, the experiences of the missionary with his pupils can be included in the new version or edition. The improvements in new copies can be found by comparing different variants; however, the improvements within the manuscripts themselves can be recognized by changes in the original text, which had to be used for several years.

Some improvements are ‘just’ corrections of obvious errors and should be separated from the linguistic improvements. In this section we therefore focus on the corrections. We have to exclude and determine the correction of mistakes in order to be clear about the forms used. Sometimes words may be looked at as ‘new’ Creole forms or words, or as representatives of a certain pronunciation. When such a change in the text can be identified as a correction of a mistake in the writing process, the alleged Creole form can be excluded.

In part III I present several cases in which the changes were made on a linguistic basis, related to audience design.

7.2 Stages of the writing process

In Duinhoven’s (1975) analysis of the medieval Dutch text *Karel ende Elegast*, he includes a huge apparatus in which several stages of the writing process are described. Through analysis of the steps, one gains a better understanding of the work of the translator and his (linguistic) background.

The process of translating/transcribing a text can be divided into five stages:³

² On the 25th of March 1923 De Josselin de Jong wrote in his diary that he had started to copy it, but was certain that he could not finish that job before he left for Saba and St. Eustatius. On the 27th of March he noted that he was allowed to take the manuscript to finish his copy, however, it is unclear where this manuscript is kept at this moment.

³ A.M. Desrousseaux in A. Dain (1964: 40-46): 1. La lecture du modèle, 2. La retention du texte, 3. La dictée intérieure, and 4. Jeu de main. I used the extensive description of this process in Dutch by Duinhoven (1975: 133-453), but simplified it to be of use in this dissertation.

1. Read the original text;
2. Remember the original text;
3. Reflect on the text (in L1);
4. Dictate to oneself;
5. Write.

In the following sections I will include examples from Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts to show that the model is not only useful for medieval texts.

7.2.1 Reading the original text

In the first stage a token can be misread: an <m> can for instance be read as <in>. The eye may also be misled by the appearance of the same words or constructions, and so a continuation error can take place: the writer can pass over a fragment, he can write down the same word or fragment two or more times (*dittography*), or he may have jumped from one passage to another one which looks more or less similar (where there are two similar endings a passage can be overlooked: *homoioтелеuton*).

- (1) Misreading: *onde[-n]<-r>daanig* ‘humble’ (321, 27), <r> was misread for <n>⁴
- (2) Dittography: *word ver [-ver]troost* ‘is comforted’ (322, 25), 2x <ver>
- (3) Homoioтелеuton: *as die Kost? en die Licham meer, as die [-Kost] Kleding?* ‘than the food? and the body more than the clothes?’ (322, 25), *as die* triggers *Kost* for the second time.

7.2.2 Remembering the original text

In the second stage, the memory of the writer can be distorted by words close to the text that they have tried to memorize, *optical contamination*, or by other thoughts, *contamination by association*.

- (4) Optical contamination: *va<ol.n>[-ll] alle* ‘of all’ (321: 26), *vall* ‘fall’ was written instead of *van* ‘of’ under influence of *alle* ‘all’
- (5) Contamination by association: *v[a+]<o>r* ‘for’ (321: 5), the word *van* ‘of’ contaminated the word *vor* ‘for’.

The influence of the contents of the German or English source texts are also present in the texts. The translators were native speakers of German, for instance J. Böhner and J.C. Auerbach, or English, S. Isles. In addition, English became a language of importance in the Danish Antilles from the second half of the eighteenth century

⁴ Since we find corrections to correct misreadings in both of the oldest Gospel Harmony texts, 321 and 322, this must indicate misreading of the Gothic print ‘Frakturschrift’ in the source text Lieberkühn (1769). A more challenging explanation is that an older draft existed, but is currently unknown to us.

onwards, and may have been had an influence on daily language use. An example of German used in a Creole text is:

- (6) da twee (Mann) (...) a wees soo *toll*, dat niemand a kan passir die selve Pad.⁵

The word *toll* means in this case ‘crazy’, however the Dutch word would be *dol*. Due to contamination from the German *toll* ‘great, fantastic’, this word was spelled differently in this context.

(7) Contamination by German:

- (7a) *ho[c+]<g>he* ‘high’ (321: 12), the word *hoche* ‘high’, G. *hoch* is changed into *hoghe*, D. *hoogh*. In the first 35 sections of 321, *hoch* appears also one time unchanged. However the regular form is *hogh(e)*, which appears twelve times in this text.
- (7b) *van d[er+]<ie>.Oberste* ‘of the chief’ (321: 34), the word *der* ‘the, m. nom.’ is changed into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *die* (>D. demonstrative *die* ‘that’). The word *Oberste*, G. ‘supreme’ means ‘chief’. In Dutch this would be *overste* ‘chief’ which is used consequently in manuscript 3232 for example.

(8) Contamination by English

- (8a) *die Engell[-s]* <-sender> ‘the angels’ (3231: 6), the plural suffix *-s*, which is common in English, but not in Dutch nor in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, is replaced by the Creole plural by adding *sender* ‘3PL’.
- (8b) *[-will hab Forsch,]* <*ul.kom met Macht,*> ‘will have force, comes with power’ (3231: 41), *Forsch*, although not spelled as in English, seems to be a contamination of English *force* ‘power’, which had to be changed into a more Dutch-like construction.

Although it is never explicitly mentioned, both the German source text, Lieberkühn (1769/1820) and the English translation of this text, Lieberkühn (1771) seem to have been used as sources for the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations. One example of the need to distinguish the contamination of the source language from the influence of the source text is the following. In section 33 of the Gospel Harmony the two early Virgin Islands Dutch Creole variants (321 and 322) resemble the German original (Lieberkühn 1769/1820), while the two later variants (3231 and 3232) resemble the English translation of 1771 (Lieberkühn 1771).

- (9) Influence of German original:
G. *Hochzeitleute* (par. 33): 321 *Briulofd Volk*, 322 *Briulofd Volk*

⁵ ‘Then two men (...) were so crazy, that no one could pass by this road.’

- (10) Influence of English original:
 E. *the children of the bride-chamber* (par. 33): 3231 *die Bruilofd-Kinders*,
 3232 *die Kinders van die Bruid-Kamer*.⁶

In the German-like texts 321 and 322 we recognize Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *Bruilofd* (>D. *Bruiloft* ‘wedding’), as translation of G. *Hochzeit*, and *Volk* (>D. *Volk* ‘people’) as a translation of *leute* ‘people’. However in the English-like texts 3231 and 3232 we see *Kinders* ‘children’, which seems to come from a possible English source text. Text 3232 is a word for word translation of the English source text, which can be seen as an indication that Lieberkühn (1771) was used as a source text.

An example of a correction which looks like contamination, but which has a linguistic meaning rather than a corrective change, is the one in which a word is inserted to clarify an anaphoric relation between two referents. Unfortunately I have not found an example of this in our corpus yet. Suppose the following hypothetical correction is present in a manuscript:

- (11) [-Jesus] a loop na Jerusalem
 Jesus 3SG PSTgo to Jerusalem

When the source text has *Em*, the translator may have started to use *Jesus* in order to clarify pronoun and to connect to his audience (auditor design). On the other hand, the use of *Jesus* could also be due to the influence of the context, when this name is used more often in the text preceding this sentence. Later on it was corrected to align with the source text. When the source text has *Jesus*, the correction was possibly made because the anaphoric relation was clear enough and/or during the process of remembering, the translator stored the pronoun instead of the name itself.

- (12) [-Em] <Jesus> a loop na Jerusalem
 3PL Jesus PSTgo to Jerusalem

When the source texts has *Em*, the translator may have used *Jesus* because during the process of remembering because the translator stored the name instead of the pronoun. On the other hand, this correction may also have been due to the wish of the translator to clarify the pronoun *Em* for his audience. When the source text has *Jesus*, it is a correction of an obvious mistake.

7.2.3 Reflecting on the text

The writer reflects on the text to be remembered and adds information based on his frame of reference. In this stage the translator reflects on strange constructions and incomprehensible words. A famous example in Dutch literature is the change of the first line of the story *Van den Vos Reynaerde*. In one of the original texts it says:

⁶ See chapter 10, *Replacements* in which the corrected version shows English preference instead of the German based text in the original translation.

Willem die Madocke maecte
 ‘Willem who made Madocke’

It is currently still unclear what is meant precisely with Madocke.⁷ It seems to have been a successful story, probably of a Welsh prince, which became unknown to younger readers or which was unfavorable or even under censorship, like the *Reynaert* in 1570. In the Middle Ages this word was changed. In the oldest version of the text, for example, we can see that the word *Madoc* is changed into *vele boucke* ‘many books’. In following variants of this text we even see *moi boecken* ‘beautiful books’.

We only see a few examples of this phenomenon in our corpus of Virgin Islands Dutch texts since the texts were not translated from manuscripts, but also from printed sources, and since it was possible that not just one, but even more texts were used as sources or comparison. The following example is from the last page of the incomplete manuscript 3231.

- (13) *Somm*[-ige] van die Saat a vall [-na]bonne die
 som of DET seed PSTfall NA.? DET
Klipp-Steen<,> [-Grond,]
 rock.stone ground (3231: 43)

Some changes which were made in this sentence can be explained from the possible sources.

- (13a) German source text:
 Ettliches fiel auf einen felsichten Boden (Lieberkühn 1769/1820)
 som fell on a stony ground
 First translations:
 En som a vall op Klippagtig Grond (321, about 1773, and 322, about 1780)

In 3231 English influence is visible, so it is interesting to present the possible English source:

- (13b) English source test:
 And some fell on stony ground (Lieberkühn 1771)
 Printed VIDC:
 En som a vall op een Steen-Grond (3110: 43)

During the process of reflection, the translator Auerbach initially wrote *Sommige* ‘som’ (> D. *sommige*), but changed it into *Somm*, which appears in all but the German source text. He also changed *Klipp-Steen Grond* ‘stony ground’ into *Klipp-Steen*, changing this adjective into a noun, meaning ‘rock’. These changes can be seen as having been made during a process of reflection, in which the translator/editor keeps his audience in mind.

⁷ See Lulofs (1983: 44-45)

The most intriguing change in this sentence is, however, the one in which *nabonne* is changed into *bonne*. The meaning of this hapax in our corpus is probably ‘above, on’ and is probably a kind of contamination of *nabinnen* ‘in’, *naboven* ‘on, above’ and *bovenop* ‘above’. I guess that Auerbach removed *na* to get a word which sounds like a quick and assimilated version of *bovenop*, which can be found as *bono* in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 74) and as *bo* in Nelson’s wordlists (chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013: 1. 1129, 1131, 1132).⁸

7.2.4 Dictating to oneself

In medieval transcriptions the writer often dictated aloud to himself, in later periods this stage took place in silence (*dictée intérieure*), which could lead to problems when the language variety of the texts differs from the L1 of the transcriber. In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts, for instance, a German word may appear between very similar Virgin Islands Dutch Creole or Dutch words.⁹

- (14) Use of language of writer: *b[e+]<i>[-*i*]* ‘with’ (322: 25), the German word *bei* /bEi/ was corrected into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *bi* /bi./.

The difference between this error and the contamination of L1 as I presented in 7.2.2., example c, is that contamination appears in the spelling, but in *dictée intérieure* the contamination appears in pronunciation.

Two frequent mistakes mentioned with regard to this stage are forgetting small words and reversals of words. Of these, only a few examples have been found in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts so far.

- (15) *Want ook <ol.mi> ben een Mensch* ‘Because also I am a human being’ (321: 27). The word *mi* could not have been left out from the grammatical perspective.
- (16) *Ongeeluk voor jender, die hab voll<ol.op>, want jender sal hab Honger.* ‘Misfortune for you, who have plenty, because you will have hunger’ (3231: 25). The word *op* could not have been left out, since *voll* with meaning ‘plenty’ does not exist.

With regard to the mistakes that occur while remembering the text, Duinhoven (1975: 214) also mentions the replacement of a word by a synonym; however, since this appears to be done not to correct a text, but to improve the connection with the audience, it will be referred to in section III of this dissertation.

⁸ Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013: 34, footnote 250, chapter 14 of this dissertation): Den Besten (letter Den Besten, November 2, 1993): “Isabella Sylvester’s *bo* in the sense of ‘on (the roof of)’ and ‘upon’ in two sentences said by her, however, most probably does not reflect Danish *paa* (*på*). It derives from Dutch *boven* via Creole Dutch *abo/abobo/nabobo*, which consists of the all-purpose locative preposition *na* and *bobo* (from Du. *boven*).”

⁹ This situation reminds us of Michael Clyne’s Trigger Theory. According to this theory, code-switching is triggered by preceding or following words (Clyne 1967). In this case the adjacent words seem to trigger the use of the translator’s native language.

7.2.5 The actual writing

When the pen is actually put on the paper, the last possibility for errors to appear is the clerical error in which the writer forgets a character, creates nonsense words by using the wrong characters, uses a *dittography* by writing down too many tokens, or leaves out a token when two or more of the same should be used, *haplography*.

- (17) Clerical error: *die HEer* [-n] *ben* ‘the Lord is’ (322: 2). It is unclear why the character <n> was put here.
- (18) Nonsense words: *praa*<t>[-p] ‘talk’ (321: 27). The word *praap* does not exist in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.
- (19) Dittography: *Skuldenaa*[-*e/a*]*ren* ‘debtors’ (321: 25). Three vowels were used where two are needed.
- (20) Haplography: *Ge*[-ll]<-sell>*skap* ‘company’ (322: 23). The writer forgot to write <se> after <Ge>.

7.3 Correcting mistakes and the process of writing

Even the correction of obvious mistakes during or after the writing process is helpful in better understanding the work of the translators and their opinions about correct use of Creole. An addition of a forgotten word or part of a word, for instance, shows the critical view regarding the texts and their use. However, the changes which were not made to correct the writing errors or forgotten parts, present insight into the ideal use of the Creole language and the opinion of the translator/editor. In part III, *Case studies: eighteenth century corpus Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts*, I focus on the changes which were made on purpose, to connect to the audience and therefore to present the variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole which was widely used within the community of the Moravian Brethren.

Part III

***Case studies: eighteenth century corpus Virgin Islands Dutch
Creole texts***

1. Introduction

The early Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts are of interest in themselves because of the tradition and the audience design in which these were used. The manuscripts in particular also contain philological information. This is visible in not only the manuscripts themselves, but also, and especially, in the corrections that were made to them. These corrections show actions that the translators took to ensure that the texts made the best possible connect to their audience.

In the original Negerhollands Corpus, we already added diplomatic symbols to visualize the editorial changes, these were coded in the digital Clarin-NEHOL corpus. In the following chapters I will focus on five philological approaches to the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole material.

Two striking, but not frequently used ways of editing texts, turned out to be quite unique. The first is a remarkable way of presenting textual alternatives vertically, which I will deal with in chapter 8, *Vertical presentation of alternatives*. It was mentioned in the preface of one of the complete Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmonies (322) as a way of giving the reader the possibility to choose the most appropriate option in a given setting.

The second one is the change of word order by adding numbers above the related words. When these words are placed in the correct numeral order, the best order becomes apparent. Like the vertical presentation, this way of emending the text is almost unique, and is helpful in studying the authenticity of the texts. I will explore this in chapter 9, *Word order and numbers*.

Our texts are full of deletions. Most of the time these were necessary in order to correct obvious mistakes. For the study of audience design and authenticity, it is interesting to look at the points in the texts when another element is added to replace the deleted element. This will be studied in chapter 10, *Replacements*.

The choice of the sequence in which the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts were entered into the database, was related to possibilities of comparing texts. We started with the digitalization of the Gospel Harmonies, since we then had four variants of one text. There are, however, more texts which can easily be compared to each other because of shared content. In chapter 11, *Studying variants of texts to discover connection with audience*, I will present some pilots of comparing related texts and the use of a critical apparatus to study language variation and change.

In the final chapter 12, *Additions*, I will show that a fairly frequently used emendation may yield insights into the influence of referee design or auditor design. When a textual element is added, it only becomes visible to the reader when it is placed in manuscriptal gloss, for instance in a margin or over or under the line. When no element has been deleted from the related spot, the addition must be of an explanatory nature. However, a closer look is necessary in order to determine for whom the explanation was necessary.

8. Vertical presentation of alternatives¹

When an element is deleted and replaced by another in a text or when word order is visibly changed, this can be seen as the correction of a mistake or an improvement on the way in which the text connects with the audience or referee. In this chapter I will analyze the vertical presentations of alternatives or synonyms, which are quite uncommon in manuscripts examined by philologists, but which are used relatively frequently in eighteenth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts. These presentations are visible comments which are used by a writer to improve the text do not involve a change in the text. They present the reader with the possibility to choose between two alternatives and reflect the writer's views on the best way to connect to the audience and his opinions about authentic Dutch Creole.

8.1 Introduction

In his introduction of Gospel Harmony manuscript 322, Johann Böhner presents metalinguistic evidence of improvements to the text towards his audience and referees; see chapter 6. He also introduced an interesting new phenomenon (writing in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole):

'En waar mi ka sett twee Woorden boven malkander nabin soo een Klamp: (draag/breng) goeie/goeie Vruchten. Soo ben vor neem of lees maar die een.' (322: 3-4)²

'And where I had put two words above each other within such a brace: (carry|bring) good|good fruit. It is to take or read only one.'



Figure 1: Excerpt from manuscript 322, p. 4.

Instead of presenting one correct and preferred item, he offers two alternatives, seemingly without preference, to be used by his audience. This metalinguistic comment also leaves who his audience is and who actually makes the choices, open. When a missionary or helper reads the text to his addressees or auditors, he must choose the most suitable of the two alternatives to connect with his audience. If it is a reader who is reading the text for himself, it is the addressee who picks the alternative which he

¹ A preliminary version of this paper ('Alternative words: service or red herring? Philological approach of eighteenth-century Negerhollands') was presented during the 20th Biennial Conference of SCL/SPCL/ACBLPE (Aruba, August 5-8 2014).

² The vertical bar indicates that the words were originally written above each other; the left one above the right one. See 0.2.5 *Other metagraphic notations*.

considers best. This vertical way of presenting text is, as far as I know, unique for texts related to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

In this chapter I focus on four ways in which the author could have presented alternatives, which allow him to leave the choice of the best option to his audience. Of these four possibilities, the vertical one presents the most open choice for the reader and is therefore studied in the most detail.

Of all of the occurrences of these vertical presentations, a large percentage includes alternative prepositions. Since the change of use of these prepositions, including the use of Creole multipurpose preposition *na* (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XVII-XVIII, Muysken, Van Rossem & Van Sluijs 2017), seems to be related to the language of the source texts and the audience of the texts, I will focus on the use of these.

8.2 Method: corpus and philological approach

In the process of digitizing the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts, we followed diplomatic editing procedures, in which the original text is reproduced as accurately as possible, including its original spelling, punctuation, word order, etc., marking philological information by using diacritic signs for all kinds of additions, erasures, glosses, changes in word order and notes (See chapter 2 *Encoding diplomatic editions of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts*, Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XII-XIV, Van Rossem 2014a).

The main question here is: Did Böhner try to approach the language of the Christianized slaves as closely as possible (addressee design, auditor design) or was his main goal to educate the slaves and to stay as close as possible to the original German liturgical language and content (referee design)?

The changes and corrections made by the translator himself reflect his ideas about the most correct translation, the most suitable orthography, word or construction in this text for his audience. A gloss may present an alternative: a (close) synonym, a periphrastic construction of the original word or construction, or even a comment on an unclear passage. A deletion may show that a construction had to be corrected or that another form was better and clearer to the audience. Changes in word order often indicate that the obligatory Creole SVO should replace the German/Dutch SOV-order. All of these changes and additions were made after the text was written which means that the translator decided after writing the text that it had to be changed or needed extra information. In the process of translation the writer also used an instrument to give linguistic information which was meant to be presented at the moment of reading itself: the presentation of alternatives.

8.2.1 *Synonyms and alternative constructions*

In this chapter I focus on the strategy, in which Böhner, and other translators like the German historian/missionary C.G.A. Oldendorp, indicate whether a word or construction is the most correct one, namely: the presentation of alternative words or constructions.

In the manuscripts in the Clarin-NEHOL database and the German-Virgin Islands Dutch Creole dictionary of C.G.A. Oldendorp (Stein & Van der Voort 1996) vertical presentations of alternatives appear 544 times. In this article I will categorize which

forms are presented next to each other and analyze in which categories most alternatives are presented.³

Four ways of presenting synonyms/alternatives are used. There may be other additions of alternatives, for example in annotations, but these were not counted in this study.

1.	Vertical presentation	544 (42%)
2.	Between brackets	367 (28%)
Example: <i>Elisabeth joe Mooje (Nigte)</i> ('niece/cousin'), ms. 322: 12		
3.	With Virgin Islands Dutch Creole <i>of</i> 'or' ⁴	258 (20%)
Example: <i>die a geskied (of: gebuir)</i> ('to happen'), ms. 322: 10		
4.	With German <i>oder</i> 'or'	127 (10%)
Example: <i>Vorgehen <u>loop</u> voor_oder_navoor</i> , ('before'), <i>Criolisches Wörterbuch</i> , r.2931		

Table 1: Presentation of alternatives

The most frequent and interesting strategy is the vertical presentation. Whilst writing the translator must have thought about two equal terms which should be presented in an equal way. In all other cases the alternative follows the original term in the writing process. This most frequent presentation in our texts is not used with regard to missionary translations in other languages. In the translation of the Gospel Harmony in the Saramaccan/Sranan variety by Wietz (1792), only the third variant is used:

Bakki (effi krippe) 'tray (or crib)'. (Wietz 1797: section 6)⁵
takkiman (effi Geteugenis) 'witness (or testimony)' (Wietz 1797: section 21)

An example of the vertical presentation follows in Figure 2.

³ In the archives of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (Leyden University Library, Ms. H 1491) a typescript of ms. 322 is kept. It is not inconceivable that Hesselning himself typed this text. In this text some vertical presentations were changed into horizontal presentations like the examples 2 and 3 in Table 1.

⁴ The word *of* is derived from Dutch *of* 'or'. The eighteenth-century manuscript in our *Corpus Negerhollandse Teksten* hardly contains Dutch words or sentences. Comments of the translators are always in German or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

⁵ The Saramaccan/Sranan translation of the Gospel Harmony of Wietz (1792) has been digitized by Margot van den Berg, but has not yet been published. The two examples are the only occurrences in the entire manuscript.

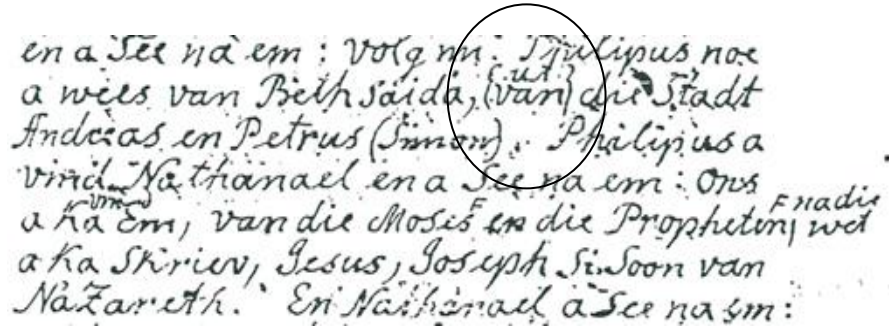


Figure 2: Excerpt from manuscript 322: 41.

In the example above it is left to the reader to choose whether to use the word *ut* ‘out’ or *van* ‘from’.

- (1) *Philipus noe a wees van Bethsaida, {ut|van} die Stadt Andreas en Petrus (Simon)*
 ‘Philipus now was from Bethsaida, out [of] // from the city [of] Andreas and Petrus (Simon)’

In (1) the translator, Böhner, presents two alternatives, without indicating a preference. In several prefaces, for instance that of Böhner’s translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (see section 5.5.3),⁶ but also of other translations, like J.M. Magens’ translation of the New Testament (see section 5.5.3), it is noted that biblical and liturgical terms were very hard to translate into the Creole language and should therefore be borrowed from Dutch since the Creole is closely related to that language. However, in several cases, the alternatives are not in the field of missionary or liturgical terms. In these cases the missionary who was reading the text may have chosen a more Creole-like alternative to accommodate to his audience.

Since some groups of Christianized slaves were trained in reading and writing, one may suppose the translator presented alternatives to help them to actually read the liturgical texts by themselves; however, the manuscripts are unique and must have been of great value to the Moravian Brethren. That being said, printed books were already distributed from 1737 onwards. In that year the missionary Friedrich Martin gave away 133 (Dutch) ABC-booklets to the slaves (Oldendorp 2000: 210), and in 1833 an edition of 2000 copies of the printed gospel was published to be distributed among the literate Christianized slaves (Anon. 1836).

8.2.2 *The corpus and methods used*

In all *Negerhollands missionary data*⁷ of the Clarin-NEHOL corpus the vertical presentation of alternatives is encoded as follows: the top alternative is placed to the

⁶ Unfortunately not completely digitally available yet.

⁷ The collections *Negerhollands basilectal data*, *Negerhollands colonists’ data* and *Slave letters* of the digital Clarin-NEHOL corpus do not contain vertical presentations of alternatives.

left of a vertical bar and the bottom alternative is placed to the right (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: XIII).⁸ Not all of the texts in the above mentioned corpus contain the vertical presentations of alternatives. Section 20.ch8.1 contains a chronological list of the texts and the number of appearances of these presentations per Clarin-NEHOL text:⁹

All 544 appearances were entered into an excel-file, along with the word class of the alternatives. All were ordered alphabetically, by word class and by number of appearances.

Most vertical presentations of alternatives appear in the Gospel Harmonies. As well as these four manuscripts (321, 322, 3231 and 3232), one printed version (1833, coded 3110) is available,¹⁰ in which no vertical presentation of alternatives appears. The Gospel Harmonies contain references to chapters and verses in the New Testament and so the New Testaments of Magens (1781, coded 315) and the Moravian Brethren (1802, coded 318) were also used for comparison. Magens' work however belongs to the Danish Lutheran tradition and stands apart from the works of the Moravian Brethren.¹¹

I have carried out two pilot studies. In the first one I studied the presentation of alternative prepositions. Most presentations of alternatives consist of content words (nouns and verbs). The number of function words can be expected to be much smaller because of the lack of potential synonyms for them; however 62 (15%) of the 544 presentations consist of prepositions. This may indicate a broad use of these function words, but also a lack of clarity about their proper use. The most interesting preposition in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is *na*. Although it looks like the Dutch locative preposition *naar* 'to' (or its widely used variant *na*), it is probably of Portuguese origin and is widely used in Atlantic Creole languages as a highly multifunctional, broadly locative element. Its use in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is described by Hesseling (1905: 113), Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: XVII-XVIII) and in Muysken, Van Rossem & Van Sluijs (2017). It is often used as an alternative to prepositions which have a clear Dutch etymology and, in order to find out if the Creole form *na* became the preferred preposition, I compared its presence in the variants of the Gospel Harmony.

⁸ All appearances can be found in the Clarin-NEHOL corpus by searching for vertical bars. Vertical bars are not only used to encode alternatives, but also to indicate a blank space on the line. In these cases, however, they are only used in pairs with a space between them.

⁹ The only text containing vertical presentations of alternatives which is not included in the Clarin-NEHOL database, is Oldendorp's *Criolisches Wörterbuch* (Stein & Van der Voort 1996). All names of texts are coded according to Stein (1986). These codes are also used in the Clarin-NEHOL database.

¹⁰ Unfortunately not yet digitally available.

¹¹ In the anonymous Danish manuscript *Psalm-Buk of Een Samling van ouwe en nijwe Psalmen ka set over {na/in} die Creol-Tael tot Dienst van Die Deen Mission in Amerika*, the author originally used the Dutch-like preposition *in*, but added the Creole preposition *na* above it. The word *in* was not erased and so it seems as if a final decision about correct use was postponed. Eventually only Creole *na* was used in the titles of printed hymn books by Danish translators. It is the only example of a possible vertical alternative in a Danish translation into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Frequent or increasing use of *na* may indicate that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole became more Creole-like and lost its close relation to the Dutch language which was, at that moment in time, also spoken in the Danish Antilles. In this case translators may have recognized the Creole form and adopted it in their liturgical texts. In the theory of audience design: the translator may have paid closer attention to his addressees, and discarded Dutch forms in favor of Creole ones.

The second pilot study was dedicated to words or collocations which were frequently used in one or even in several versions of the Gospel Harmonies. Most of the vertical presentations are unique and may have been used to help the reader to choose the correct item. When a form appears frequently, a translator may indicate that synonyms/alternatives should be chosen more often. An example is the use of vertical presentation of alternatives in the 1765 hymn book. The reader must choose between singular and plural pronouns in all 13 cases.

From a distance it seems as if the translators made a clear point throughout the texts, and so every token should be looked at separately within its sentence and paragraph. It is, however, beyond the scope of this chapter to investigate all of the appearances closely. In my research I will focus on the regularities and the exceptions, on the clear, but also on the unpredictable choices.

The presentation of alternatives in a chronological/horizontal form, namely between brackets, with Virgin Islands Dutch Creole/Dutch *of* or with German *oder*,¹² (see Table 1), are not included in this study. Deletions and replacements of alternatives, just like addition of alternatives in footnotes or glosses, are also not included. A complete overview of these cases must be left for subsequent research.

8.3 Results

8.3.1 Overall results

Of the 544 vertical presentations, the bulk (402, 74%), consists of lexical synonyms. However, it is not always clear what was actually meant by the translator.

Presented alternatives	#
Groups	25
Lexicon	402
Lexicon/group of words unclear	3
Lexicon/morphology unclear	5, examples: <i>die Borsten/jeen</i> (321d), <i>die Borsten</i> ‘the breasts’, <i>diejeen</i> ‘those’ or ‘one’; <i>Jong-mann/ling</i> (321d, 325f) <i>Jongmann</i> ‘lad’, <i>Jongling</i> ‘youngster’
Morphology	4
Morphology/lexicon unclear	1 <i>Doek{oe i}</i> (Old. l. 0970) ‘cloth’. When both <i>doekoe</i> and <i>doeki</i> mean the same, these are lexical variants. It is also possible the <i>-i</i> in <i>doeki</i> is derived

¹² The translators of the texts were German and sometimes used German words in metalinguistic comments.

	from Dutch diminutive <i>-ie</i> ‘little cloth’, which leads to difference in morphology.
Orthography/lexicon unclear	1 <i>loop/loo</i> (Old. 1.0024) ‘to go’. Different spelling for the same verb (<i>p</i> was not pronounced but spelled because of Dutch etymon) or two forms of verb used next to each other?
Orthography	30

Table 2: Class of presented alternatives

8.3.2 Orthography

In the majority of cases, two words are placed above each other. An interesting sub-case is the presentation of different orthographies, without indicating a preference for one. All cases are from Oldendorp’s *Criolisches Wörterbuch* (Stein & Van der Voort 1996).

Form	Example	Frequency and line
i/e	br{e i}ng	14
a/e	st{a e}rk	1, 1.2175
u/e	gl{u e}klik	1, 1.0996
ee/ei	sme{e i}chel	1, 1.1986
g/k	gastri{g k}	1, 1.1946
c/sch	for{c sch}eer	1, 1.0007
s/sch	mor{s sch}	2, 1.2584, 1.2618
sie/sche	Preten{s e}che	1, 1.0123
tie/sche	Prepara{t e}sche, Quittan{t e}sche, Exerci{t e}schie	3, 1.0124, 1.1785, 1.2425
Epenth. Vowel/harmony	groei goerri, Doek{oe i}, Titt{e i}	4, 1.0723/2993, 1.0970, 1.1895
upper/lower case	{m M}ankement	1, 1.0240
Total		30

Table 3: Orthographical alternatives

The use of <i> or <e> as a short vowel in words, is the most frequent alternative. Does this presentation by Oldendorp mean that he, the translator/linguist, does not want to choose the correct form and wants to leave this to the reader? Or is the pronunciation of the *i/e* perhaps hard to describe in the Dutch/German alphabet as it is used by the German missionaries?

8.3.3 Lexicon and prepositions

Of the lexical forms, the parts of speech which are most frequently seen, are content words like nouns and verbs. These are easily interchangeable within the sentence and sometimes reflect aspects of variation between register (religious versus secular, European versus Creole, formal versus informal) or other (close) synonymy.

The parts of speech for which it is quite hard to use terms like synonymy, are function words. Of these, the prepositions are of particular interest because they occur relatively frequently.

	#	%
Verb	147	37
Noun	89	22
Prepositions	62	15
Adverbs	30	7
Pronouns	29	7
Adjectives	15	4
Adverbs. adjectives, unclear	8	2
Conjunctions	8	2
TMA-particles	4	1
Unclear ¹³	3	1
Articles	2	0
Genitives	2	0
Negations	2	0
Numerals	1	0
Total lexicon	402	100

Table 4: Lexicon, parts of speech

In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole all of the prepositions except for one very central one (*na*), are related to Dutch and seem highly unambiguous. When different prepositions are presented as alternatives, this may indicate uncertainty about the right translation from the German source. The translator notices that the German preposition can be translated into more than one form in the target language. An example is the translation of German *zu*, ‘to’, which is in Dutch *tot* or *naar*, into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *tot* or *na*. More recent variants of the relevant texts may reveal the alternative which is the most appropriate one.

Another reason for presenting alternative prepositions may be the translator’s uncertainty about the right verb-preposition collocation in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole or Dutch. Metalinguistic comments suggest that Dutch should be used in those cases where Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is insufficient.¹⁴ The translator presents the alternatives which he thinks are used most by his audience, but has to choose Dutch variants in liturgical jargon to cover the possibilities. For instance, the German source text uses: *spricht zu ihm* ‘speaks to him’. The Dutch translation is

¹³ 321a *die/na* ‘this’/‘with’ (preposition and pronoun), 325d: **...gen*/...en** (unreadable), 325e: *ut/joe* ‘out’/‘you’ (preposition and pronoun).

¹⁴ See Chapter 5 *Metalinguistic comments*.

spreekt tot hem. In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole the following translations are used: *see na em*, *see tot em*, *spreek na em*, *spreek tot em* and even *praat tot em*, *praat na em en praat met em*.

A third reason is the following: Comparison of the use of vertical presentation of alternative prepositions may show a change in the use of these prepositions. The translator presents the preposition which was originally commonly used and the one which also appears in contemporary, daily language alongside each other. Since not all manuscripts are dated, and since some of them are even hard to place in a decade without metalinguistic evidence, only texts for which the date is indisputable, can be used to investigate this. A clear example is the translation of German *bis* ‘to, until’, Dutch *tot*, in the three complete and two incomplete variants of the Gospel harmony which are preserved. Not only these texts, but also the very comparable New Testaments of Magens (1781) and the one by the Moravian Brethren (1802), can be used. In the early variants *tot* is used, but in newer texts, the Creole-like preposition *na* is used more frequently.

8.3.4 ‘Na’ as shibboleth for genuine Creole

In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole the multipurpose preposition *na* is quite common, but also somewhat problematic.¹⁵ It is hard to translate this word without its context.

Oldendorp is the first one to present some insight: *na* is used as a omissible preposition in dative or directional constructions: *Mi sal bring die Mama drink*, but also *mi le bring na die Mama* (Oldendorp 2000: 688).¹⁶ With regard to whether it relates to meaning German ‘nach’, Dutch ‘na/naar’ and English ‘after’, Oldendorp writes:

‘Wenn nach einen Ort, eine Ordnung oder Zeit anzeigt, wie das lateinische *pone* und *post*, so wird es mit *aster*, welches auch hinter heißt, gegeben, sonst aber, wenn es das *pro* oder *secundum* ausdrückt, mit *na*, als *kom* oder *volg aster mi* folge mir nach; *sender a kom aster em* sie kamen nach ihm; *aster die tied* nach der Zeit; *na mi sin*, *na mi gedachten* nach meinem Sinn, nach meinen Gedanken.’ (Oldendorp 2000: 701)

When after indicates a place, an order or a time, like Latin *pone* and *post*, it will be presented by *aster*, which also means ‘behind’, but when it indicates *pro* or *secundum*, *na* is used, like *kom* or *volg aster mi* ‘follow me’; *sender a kom aster em* ‘they came after/behind him’; *aster die tied* ‘after the time’; *na mi sin*, *na mi gedachten* ‘to my mind’.

¹⁵ Sabino (2012: 234, 272) shows that *na* can also be used as topicalizer, prenominal copula and locative particle in locative adverbs and prepositions. Although she does not mention *na* as a separate preposition, it appears in her example on p. 272.

¹⁶ The sentence *mi (...) Mama* seems to be a variant of *Mi (...) drink*, in which the object *drink* ‘something to drink’ was left out to focus on the use of the preposition *na* (Oldendorp 2000: 688).

Hesseling (1905: 113), who owned a copy of the original Moravian Grammar (*Grammatik* after 1802),¹⁷ writes:

‘Dutch *na* has obtained a very broad meaning. I have borrowed some examples from the Herrnhutter grammar (p. 69 and next) which clarify this: *em a see na mi* (‘he spoke to me’), *em no ben na hoes* (‘he is not at home’), *no stoot na die glas* (‘don’t punch the glass’), *na een hoor nabinne en na die ander ut* (‘[it goes] in at one ear and out at the other’), *na Kreol taal* (‘in Creole’, and not ‘according to’ or ‘from Creole’), *pien na kop* (‘headache’, ‘pain in the head’). *Na* as a locative has a general and so a vague meaning. When the locative relation is presented clearly, *na* is readily specified and one says *na aster*, *na binne*, *na bobo* etc. Hence *pien na kop*, but *em ben nabinne die hoes*, ‘he is in the house’ (as opposed to *na hoes* ‘at home’; our (Dutch, CvR) *in* has disappeared). *Em ka dood voor ons* means ‘he has died for us, for the sake of us’, but *em ka dood na voor ons* would be: ‘he has died before our eyes’. The deviant and extensive use of *na* makes Schuchardt (*Kreol. Stud. I*, p. 28) think of the influence of Portuguese Creole, which also appears in English Creole and Papiamentu with the same meaning. Since it seems unlikely to me that the Papiamentu *na* is of Dutch origin, an opinion also held by Van Name (p. 158), and that the word in Spanish Creole and Dutch Creole is unrelated, I consider it to be very probable that it is a blend of our (Dutch, CvR) *na* with the Portuguese Creole.¹⁸

Schuchardt (1882: 28), *Kreol. Stud. I* in Hesseling’s quotation, points out with regard to the use of the Portuguese word *em* as a preposition: ‘In Capeveridian the female form *na* became common; it also entered into the English Creole of Surinam,

¹⁷ Library University Leyden, Ms. 163 C 33. Hesseling (1905) writes that he obtained a copy of the original manuscript from 1802 with the same title as that of Mr. A. Glitsch in Herrnhut. On the inside cover is written that it is a gift from 1941 by Hesseling’s widow A.H. Hesseling-Salverda de Grave. The back of the cover bears the title *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen*.

¹⁸ ‘Het Nederlandse *na* heeft een zeer uitgebreide betekenis gekregen; ik ontleen enige voorbeelden aan de G.H. (blz. 69 vlg.) die dit duidelijk maken: *em a see na mi* (hij sprak tegen mij), *em no ben na hoes* (hij is niet thuis), *no stoot na die glas* (stoot niet tegen ‘t glas), *na een hoor nabinne en na die ander ut* (‘t ene oor in en ‘t andere uit), *na Kreol taal* (in ‘t Kreools, dus niet volgens of uit het Kreools), *pien na kop* (pijn in ‘t hoofd). *Na* als plaatsbepalend woord bij uitnemendheid heeft een algemene, en daardoor vage zin; als dan ook de plaatselijke betrekking zuiver wordt weergegeven wordt na gaarne gepreciseerd en men zegt *na aster*, *na binne*, *na bobo* enz. Van daar *pien na kop*, maar *em bin nabinne die hoes*, hij is in ‘t huis (tegenover *na hoes*, thuis; *ons in* is verdwenen). *Em ka dood voor ons* betekent: hij is voor ons, ter wille van ons, gestorven, maar *em ka dood na voor ons* zou wezen: hij is vóór onze ogen gestorven. Het afwijkend en uitgebreid gebruik van *na* doet Schuchardt (*Kreol. Stud. I*, blz. 28) aan invloed van ‘t Portugeeskreoolse *na* denken, dat ook in ‘t Negerengels en Papiaments in dezelfde betekenis voorkomt. Daar ‘t mij onwaarschijnlijk dunkt dat in ‘t Papiaments *na* van Hollandse oorsprong zou zijn, gelijk Van Name (blz. 158) meent, en ik evenmin kan geloven dat ‘t Negerspaanse en Negerhollandse woord niets met elkaar zouden gemeen hebben, acht ik zulk een vermenging van *ons na* met het Portugeeskreoolse woord zeer aannemelijk.’ (Hesseling 1905: 113).

the language of Curaçao and Dutch Creole and for some meanings we may assume that there was interference from Dutch *naar*.¹⁹

In summary: although the form of the word resembles the Dutch words *na* or *naar* ‘to, towards’ and although the spelling *na* is a frequently used form of *naar* in older informal Dutch sources, the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word has no clear Dutch etymology.²⁰ As Hesseling (1905: 113) argued on the basis of Schuchardt’s opinion, a possible Portuguese etymology, related to a short Portuguese sentence/expression *em a* ‘in the’ > *na* is far more likely. A corresponding form in the lexifier languages may have increased the acceptance of the word in the Creole language.

Stolz (1986: 233-235) mentions several prepositions which were used in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts collected by De Josselin de Jong (1926). With regard to *na*, Stolz presents several examples of prepositions in which *na* is used as a particle (*nabini* ‘in’, *nabono* ‘on’, *nao:bu* ‘on’ and *naondə* ‘under’). He also indicates that the function of most of these prepositions and prepositional phrases can also be represented by *na* on its own. In his examples we see *na*, in its form *a* as a locative particle, with the meanings ‘on’, ‘with’ and ‘in’. I doubt whether *na* is used here as an elliptic preposition, rather than as a multipurpose preposition.

A first look at the use of *na* in the eighteenth-century Gospel Harmonies shows a change from a preposition *na* with a locative adverb (*na binne*, ‘in, inside’) towards a preposition with a locative prefix (*nabin*, ‘in, inside’). Further research is needed to clarify or to demonstrate this change (see also Muysken, van Rossem & van Sluijs 2017).

Of all vertical presentations of prepositional alternatives, 57% contain the word *na* or its synonym *nah*. This indicates a situation in which the reader gets the opportunity to use the more Creole-like word *na* towards his addressee, but the vertical presentation does not suggest *na* fits better in the audience design. Since *na* differs from the Dutch-like prepositions in etymology, use and meaning, one would expect an increase of the use of this preposition. Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was largely replaced by English (Creole) in the first half of the nineteenth century (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 32-33) and since only the basilectal variety was conserved as a spoken language until the twentieth century, one would expect an increase of basilectal forms in chronologically newer texts.

A wide range of alternatives to *na* is available. It is vertically combined with *a(a)n* ‘at’, *aster* ‘after’, *door* ‘through’, *in* ‘in’, *met* ‘with’, *onder* ‘under’, *op* ‘on’, *over* ‘over’, *tegen* ‘against’, *tot* ‘until, to’, *ut* ‘out of’, *van* ‘of, from’ and *voor* ‘before’, (translations approximate, depending on the context of use). The most frequent combinations of *na* and another preposition are:

¹⁹ ‘Im Capverdischen kam die weiblichen Form *na* zur algemeinen Geltung; sie ist auch in das Negerenglischen von Surinam, das Curazoleñische und das Negerholländische eingedrungen und für einige ihrer Bedeutungen mag man Einmischung des holl. *naar* annehmen.’ (Schuchardt 1882: 28).

²⁰ WNT, s.v. NA, introduction about etymology and synonymy of *na* and *naar* and III preposition, 3. ‘towards’.

1. Na|van 'from' 10 in 5 texts
2. Na|op 'on' 8 in 5 texts
3. Na|tot 'to' 6 in 4 texts
4. Na|voor 'before' 4 in 3 texts

Examples are presented next to their German, English and Dutch equivalents in section 20.ch8.2.

Comparison of the five versions of the Gospel Harmony, coded 321, 322 (both around 1780), 3231, 3232 (both around 1790) and 3110 (1833) may show which preposition eventually became the favorite one, which was to be printed in 2000 copies. We see that the more Creole-like *na* is only the preferred word in a few cases, and in one case *na* is even replaced by the acrolectal word *op*, which did not appear in the corresponding sentences in earlier texts.

1780	1780	1790	1790	1833	1769
Ms. 321	Ms. 322	Ms. 3231	Ms. 3232	3110 ²¹	German source ²²
Na op	Nabin	-	-	Op	Auf
Na tot	Na	Na	Na	Na	Zu
Na	Na van	Na	In	In	-
Na	Na van	-	-	Van	-

Table 5: Chronological change of choice in comparable verses

The frequency of even the most frequent combinations is, however, low and so it is hard to draw the conclusion that:

1. The final translation of the Gospel Harmony was too European;
2. The presentation of synonyms is helpful for finding genuine Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

I will return to prepositions in collocations in section 8.4.2.

8.4 Discussion

8.4.1 Frequent forms as a sign post for audience design?

Of all presentations of alternatives, only a few are used more than once. A single appearance within its context may be of considerable interest in gaining insight into the language situation or audience design. Frequent use of one combination of alternatives indicates regularity and standard procedure, while single use could also be the result of incidental improvement. The combination becomes even more interesting when it is used in different texts, an especially when it is used by

²¹ Anon. (1833)

²² Lieberkühn (1769/1820).

different translators. This would show that the authors knowingly made use of vertical presentation of alternatives in order to connect to the needs of the addressees. A consistent use of one combination implies language policy.

Few combinations are used more often than once and, in several cases, the combination is only used in two different manuscripts. In the following tables the most frequent combinations are given, accompanied by a possible explanation.

Alternatives	category	#	Source	gloss
Mi ons, Joe jender, Em sen	(pron)	14 (2)	Herrn65, 325b.	1SG/1PL, 2SG/2PL, 3SG/3PL
In most cases, the presentation of a singular next to a plural form, is due to the possibility of singing hymns alone or in a group. The alternatives are therefore pragmatic and not linguistic.				
Knoer murmureer	(verb)	9 (2)	321a, 321b, 325d, 325f	'to complain'
This combination of words is also used in the German and Dutch sources.				
Vrouw wief	(noun)	8 (2)	322b, 325d, 325e	'woman/wife'
<i>Vrouw</i> seems to be the formal form and <i>wief</i> the informal form.				
See spreek	(verb)	7 (3)	321c, 322b, 325a, 325b	
<i>See</i> seems to be the informal form and <i>spreek</i> the formal form				
Ben wees	(AUX)	6 (3)	321b, 321c, 324op, 325a	'to be'
<i>Ben</i> is the regular singular form of to be, and <i>wees</i> is the imperative form.				
Ben ka	(AUX, TMA)	6 (1)	Oldendorp 1768	perfective
<i>Ben</i> is the regular form and <i>ka</i> is the TMA-marker (Van Sluijs 2017). Oldendorp considers <i>ka</i> to be a copula.				
Bari pari	(verb)	5 (1)	325a, 325b	'to give birth'
<i>Bari</i> seems the Dutch-based word <i>baren</i> , with an epenthetic vowel, and <i>pari</i> seems the Iberian version. The pronunciation of the initial sound could be either with or without voice.				
Sweet Hauer	(noun)	4 (1)	325c, 325d, 325e	'sword'
<i>Sweet</i> is the Dutch version and <i>Hauer</i> is the Caribbean Dutch or Creole word for machete.				

Table 6: Most frequent forms

The following occurrences of verbs are not as frequent as the above mentioned words, but merit separate discussion.

Alternatives	category	#	Source	gloss
Roep noem	(verb)	2	Old. I.1080, 1631.	'to call'
Both verbs are used in several texts meaning: 'to give the following name'. The Dutch verb <i>roepen</i> , however, means 'to call, to cry', while <i>noemen</i> means 'to call, to mention'. The Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal does not present <i>roepen</i> as 'to give a name'; however Dutch <i>roepnaam</i> means 'usual name, given name'.				
Groei goerri	(orth./epenth.)	2	Old. I.0723, 2993	'to grow'
NH <i>Groei</i> and <i>goerri</i> are both derived from Dutch <i>groei</i> 'to grow', but <i>goerri</i> looks more Creole because of the CVCV-construction, the split of the complex-CC cluster <i>gr</i> and the epenthetic <i>-i</i> .				
Draai keer	(verb)	2 (2)	321b, 322a2	'to turn'
Both words mean 'to turn', however the main translation of D. <i>keren</i> is 'to turn around'. In Dutch <i>hoe je het draait of keert/wendt of keert</i> is an expression which means 'whichever way you look at it/whether we like it or not'.				
See praat	(verb)	3 (3)	Old. I.3070, 321d, 325a	'to speak'
Both <i>see</i> and <i>praat</i> are derived from Dutch, both meaning 'to say', but Du. <i>praten</i> is slightly vernacular. The tendency in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is a move towards <i>see</i> as the most frequently used word, probably as a result of the influence of English 'to say'.				
Loop kom	(verb)	2 (2)	321e, 322d	'to go, to come'
Both occurrences have a locative meaning in which <i>loop</i> (Du <i>lopen</i> 'to go/walk') has a durative meaning, while <i>kom</i> (Du <i>komen</i> 'to come') focusses on the arrival of the subject.				
Verstaan weet	(verb)	2 (1)	322a2, 322c	'to know'
Du <i>verstaan</i> means 'to understand' while <i>weten</i> means 'to know'. In the source text (Lieberkühn 1769/1820) <i>wisset</i> ('knows') is used and in the English translation (Lieberkühn 1771) <i>know</i> is used.				
Hou bewaar	(verb)	3 (3)	322a2, 324op, 325c	'to keep'
In the sources 322a2 and 324op it is obvious that <i>hou</i> is connected to <i>Woord</i> , Du. <i>zijn woord houden</i> 'to keep his word' is a frequently used expression. However Du. <i>zijn woord bewaren</i> has a biblical connotation in which <i>zijn</i> 'his' refers to God. Source 325c shows: <i>hou em aster, bewar em</i> 'to keep him from', which differs from the case in 322a2 and 324op.				

Table 7: Frequent verbs

8.4.2 Collocations

The synonymous verbs *see*, *praat* en *spreek* ('to speak') of which the last one is the most formal, all occur in collocation with the prepositions *tot* and *na*, as already mentioned in the section on prepositions.

A comparison of the four Gospel Harmony texts shows that the collocation *see tot* 'say to' disappears and *see na* becomes the dominant construction. The verb and preposition collocations with the verb *spreek* rarely occur, and of these, the one with *tot* disappears. The only clear conclusion to draw in this regard is that the Dutch preposition *tot* disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century and seems to have fully been replaced by *na*. The only exception is the translation of the Old Testament, which is full of cases of *spreek tot* and *see tot*. Unfortunately this translation cannot be compared to another complete version.²³ The free translation of (a part of) Genesis (coded 3313, probably from 1797), contains 27 appearances of *tot*, of which none is a collocation with *spreek*, *see* or *praat*. As expected, by the end of the eighteenth century, the collocations *spreek na* and *praat na* both appear only once, while *see na* is the most frequent one with 5 appearances. *Praat met* appears two times in this manuscript.

Since the preposition *tot* also disappears in other situations, we may assume it was also Dutch and not really part of the Creole.

8.5 Final remarks

My aim here was not to conclude which variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is represented in the manuscripts, but rather to point out that the analysis of the unique presentation of alternatives in the manuscripts may be helpful for further studies.

A first examination of just a few examples from the list already shows the disappearance of Dutch-like words, like *tot*, and of formal collocations like *see tot*, in favor of a more Creole-like ones such as *see na*. The synonyms with regard to orthography show different spellings for diminutives and opacity about the use, or perhaps even the pronunciation of short /I/ and /E/ in closed syllables.

²³ Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 291): 'According to Larsen (1950:115), it is possible that besides his work on the New Testament between 1772 and 1777, Magens also started to translate the Old Testament. It is reported in Lose (1891:23-4) that the translation was finished and sent to Copenhagen in 1781, but never published. The introduction to the New Testament of 1781 refers to Magens' work on the Old Testament, and indicates that the General Church Inspection College had received David's Psalms (see Alling) and the books of the Prophets. Like others, this ms. was never found, and may have been destroyed in the Orphanage fire of 1795, the Palace fire of 1884 or some other fire.' Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 293): '[Volkersen, A.W. Old Testament]. { * } >This ms. is mentioned in a letter of 19 June 1815 (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppessager II-922, Salmebogssagen). A 'considerable' part of the ms. had been sent to the signatories to the document, members of the English Bible Society in London, who had not been able to judge whether it was useful to print it. The undersigners' advice is to leave the ms. and use Magens' New Testament and print only a few 'important' books of the Old Testament at the most. >The ms. is also mentioned in a letter from 3 March 1817 (RA, Koloniernes Centralbestyrelse, Kolonialkontoret, Gruppessager II-922, Salmebogssagen) where it is said that Lund and Mackeprang advised not to print it. Instead, Magens' New Testament should be reprinted in 1200 copies as the 1781 edition is not available on the Virgin Islands anymore.'

Individual cases show interesting combinations of near synonyms, which indicate a change of meaning between Dutch and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and perhaps even between European and Caribbean Dutch, as we could see in the use of *houwer*.

However, it is hard to draw general conclusions about these cases. Translators are not consistent in their presentation of alternatives and, despite the metalinguistic comments, it remains unclear what the purpose of presenting the synonyms vertically was. Within the audience design, it would be interesting to see who actually picked the most suitable of the two options presented to them. Although the list of 544 occurrences seems extensive, the fact that the entire corpus consists of tens of thousands of words should be taken into consideration.

The study of this presentation of alternatives is only one of the possible philological angles with which to approach the materials, and it needs to be complemented with the results of analysis of deletions, additions, changes of word order, and metalinguistic comments and comparisons of the texts.

For further study of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole lexicon, the individual cases need to be studied more closely. A closer look at alternatives, near-synonyms, formal versus informal language, European versus Creole lexicon and paraphrases versus single content words will all be helpful in studying the complex interactions between the colonial lexifier language and the audience design aimed at capturing the Creole.

9. Word order and numbers

While digitalizing the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts, we noticed several ways in which notes or glosses were included in the texts. One of the most remarkable ways was the addition of numbers above the words, indicating that the order of these words should be changed into the one proposed by the number sequence. In this chapter I focus on these changes in word order which were added after the original texts were written. I will show that most of these changes are related to the difference between the word order of the source texts and the one which must have been acceptable for the auditors of these translations. The translators must have been well aware of the preferred Creole word order which was eventually recorded in the so-called Moravian Grammar (after 1802, 1903), an early nineteenth-century Grammar composed by Moravian Brethren from the Danish Antilles.

9.1 Introduction

The tradition of text treatments presents interesting insights into translation difficulties. One example is the *Psalterium Gallicanum* (1000-1025, London, Lambeth Palace, ms. 227).¹ The original Latin text is accompanied by a word for word translation into Anglo Saxon. The most interesting thing about it is that almost all Latin words are glossed, under the line, with one to four dots. When placed in succeeding order these dots indicate the Anglo Saxon word order.

These kinds of annotations reflect the translator's critical viewpoint of the text. Since this medieval text is bilingual, the difference in word order between Latin and Anglo Saxon can be studied. This way of indicating word order change is quite rare. In bilingual texts, like in *Psalterium Gallicanum* and in the eighteenth-century manuscript in which Quechua and Xebera are compared (*Gramatica de la Lengua Xibera*, eighteenth century)² numbers are used to show which word was translated by another. Strikingly, in eighteenth-century monolingual Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts of the Moravian Brethren we find several cases in which the word order of the Creole language is changed by adding numbers above the words which need to be rearranged. In one case we see a similar change in a text of the Moravian Brethren in Surinam.

In this chapter I first present an example of word order change to illustrate the amendments by the author. In my methods section I will give my sources. In the results section I will present numbers of all of the appearances in an organized fashion. Finally, I will discuss the appearances which are related to verbs and the place of a verb in a sentence. I will show that most of these changes can be

¹ I owe a word of thanks to Hans Kienhorst who introduced me to this text.

² I also owe a word of thanks to Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saenz, who showed me a copy of this eighteenth-century manuscript in which Quechua and Xebera words are numbered in order to clarify the translations (British Library, London: *GRAMATICA de la Lengua Xibera*; containing, in addition to the rules of grammar, prayers, catechisms, etc., in the Xibera dialect. Paper; xviiith cent. Belonged to Baron P. L. van Alstein. Small Octavo. Ms. Add. 25,323 and 25,324). See Alexander-Bakkerus (2016).

explained by using the Moravian Grammar. In this grammar the obligatory word order in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is explained by ten sentence elements.

9.2 An example

A writer can change word order in several ways. Texts can be deleted and replaced by words in another order. Arrows or other encodings can show the correct place in a sentence or a new order can be used in a new version of the entire manuscript. The strategy of using numbers above the related words is quite uncommon, and so an example is called for.

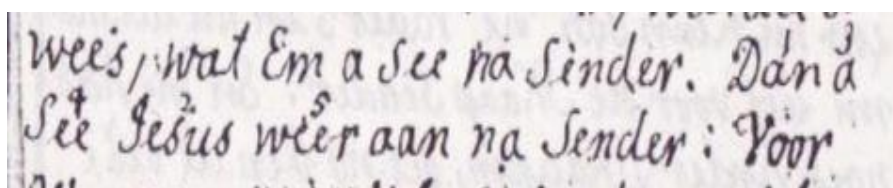


Figure 1: Fragment from ms. 322 (about 1780: 195)

In the example we see the following sentence:

Dan<ol.1> a<ol.3> see<ol.4> Jesus<ol.4> weer<ol.5> aan na sender:³
(322a2: 195)

The original sentence was:

- (1a) Dan a see Jesus weer aan na sender:
Then PST say Jesus again NA 3PL
'Then said Jesus again to them.'

According to the number placed above the words, the word order should be changed into:

- (1b) Dan Jesus a see weer aan na sender:
Then Jesus PST say again NA 3PL
'Then Jesus said again to them.'

First, the writer writes the sentence and after the text is written, the editor adds the numbers. The editor can be someone else, however it also possible that the writer himself acted as an editor. It is obvious which version was preferred by the editor in the case of (1). Without a doubt, the subject of the sentence should have been placed before the verb to change the original verb second order of Dutch and German into

³ Encodings and glosses as in chapter 0 of this dissertation and Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: XI-XVII). All numbers to indicate word order change are placed above the related words. In all following examples the diplomatic indicator *ol.* is left out. This example was used in section 2.2.7.

the SVO-order which is obligatory in most Atlantic Creoles, including Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

The procedure seems to be as follows:

- a. The writer writes a sentence/word group;
- b. After writing it, he or another editor decides the order is incorrect or less appropriate;
- c. The editor adds numbers above the parts of the word group in such a way that a sequential order of the numbers rearranges the words into a correct sentence/word group.

9.3 Method

In the Clarin-NEHOL database 34 appearances of numbered word order change can be found. Since the numbers are always placed above the related words, these constructions can be recognized by the use of angle brackets, followed by *ol.*, meaning that the gloss was added over the line.

Another 14 appearances were found in the non-digitized manuscripts 324 and 326.⁴ As far as I know now, only one eighteenth-century text apart from Virgin Islands Dutch Creole uses this kind of writer's amendments, namely Wietz' (1792) Sranan/Saramaccan Gospel Harmony. He writes:

- (2a) Jesus takki mi<3> sa<2> kom<1> helpi hem
 Jesus say 1SG FUT come help 2SG
 'Jesus says I will come (to) help him.'

Which should, according to the numbers, be changed into:

- (2b) Jesus takki kom sa mi helpi hem

However, the sentence becomes ungrammatical in such a way that even a specialist cannot imagine a possible reason for the change (p.c. M. van den Berg, November 27, 2013). In the digital transcription of Christian Schumann's Sranan Gospel Harmony (1781) several amendments are made, however an initial examination reveals that none of the amendments concerns word order change.

Of all the cases, provenance, original order and corrected order were entered into an Excel-file. When variants of appearances were available, these were also entered into the database. If available, a German or English source text was compared to the original constructions. For the Gospel Harmony we used the 1820 edition of the German original from 1769 (Lieberkühn 1820) and the earliest English translation. (Lieberkühn 1771). The examples from the Old Testament were compared to several German translations of the Old Testament, available on www.bibel-online.net.

⁴ The codes of these manuscripts correspond to the ones in Clarin-NEHOL and were introduced by Stein (1986). These codes also appear with periods between the numbers: e.g. 321 is 3.2.1 etc.

9.4 Word order: prescriptive and descriptive

9.4.1 Oldendorp's opinion

Since the word order of the sentences was changed explicitly, one may suspect a theoretical basis for this. The translator may have used his knowledge of the Creole language as spoken by his addressees and auditors, as one of the L2-speakers. In the case of Johann Böhner, the basis is even solidified by decades of experience as a speaker and as a translator. In this case the grammar used is descriptive and based on true language use.

Translators have also tried to teach the slaves to read and write by using Dutch ABC-booklets, while in the Danish tradition a Creole grammar and several Creole ABC-booklets were written. Although a direct relationship cannot yet be proven, one may suspect that the commented language observations which Oldendorp collected in his manuscript and which were concisely published in his 1770 history of the Moravian mission, might have been influential as a prescriptive for translations

Oldendorp (2000: 706)⁵ writes that the Creole word order differs from German and Dutch.⁶ The right order is the following:

1. The conjunction or what else is necessary to topicalize, when present;
2. The subject or the person or matter from which something is said and which belongs to it;
3. The negation or negation word, when one is present;
4. The predicate or that which is said about the subject, namely the verb;
5. Whatever belongs to the verb and which is connected to it.

Oldendorp (2000: 706-707) presents some extensions to this structure. I paraphrase from his work: only **the adverbs** *graag* 'gladly', *swaarlik* ('hardly', CvR), *qualik* ('badly', CvR), *nooit* ('never', CvR) are more often placed before the verb, but also others in special phrases:

(3a) *mi graag sal doe die*
 1SG gladly FUT do this
 'I will gladly do this'

(3b) *mi qualik, swaarlik kan permitteer die,*
 1SG badly hardly can allow this
 'I cannot allow this'

⁵ 1. die Conjunction, oder was sonst notwendig voran muß, gesetzt, wenn eine da ist, 2. das Subject oder die Person oder Sache, wovon etwas gesagt wird und was dazu gehöret, 3. die Negation oder das Verneinungswort, wenn eins da ist, 4. das Prädicat oder was von dem Subjekt gesagt wird, nämlich das Verbum, 5. was zu dem Verbo gehört und damit verbunden ist. (Oldendorp 2000: 706)

⁶ But: "Die Übereinstimmung derselben mit der **französischen** ist leicht zu erkennen. Man darf nur eins der gegebenen Exempel ins **Französische** übersetzen, als das erste *je ne puis pas faire cela sans votre aide*, welches von Wort zu Wort mit dem criolischen übereinkommt."

- (3c) *eenrees em vlieg op*
 immediately 3SG fly up
 'He immediately goes up, he becomes heated and the like'.

The preposition, and anything else that belongs most closely to the verb is often separated and something else is put in between:

- (4a) *joe moet geween joe die af,*
 2SG must accustom 2SG this off
 'you must unlearn it'
- (4b) *stier die gauw over na mi,*
 send this soon over to 1SG
 'send it to me soon'
- (4c) *em a maak allegaar goed fraai.*
 3SG PST make all very good
 'He made everything well'
- (4d) *em ka ha ons idertied goe moeschi lief,*
 3SG PRF have 1PL always very much love
 'He has always loved us very much.'

In interrogative sentences, the order of the construction is not changed and nothing, from the verb or predicate, is placed before the subject. In short, in questions one leaves the words in the same order as when the sentence is not a question.

Oldendorp (2000: 714)⁷ states that the construction or word order of this language is very natural, however that it is precise and invariable meaning that a word can hardly be replaced and that many of the elements which belongs to the predicate, immediately change into subject when it placed before the verb. The sentence which is created becomes often very different whimsical and incorrect. For instance:

⁷ [810a] Die **Construction** oder Folge der Wörter aufeinander ist in dieser Sprache sehr natürlich, aber auch so genau und unveränderlich, daß nicht leicht ein Wort von seiner Stelle versetzt werden kann, und daß manches, welches zum **Prädicat** gehört, gleich zum **Subject** wird, sobald es vors **Verbum** kommt, woraus oft ein ganz anderer wunderlicher und falscher Sinn entstehet. Also heißt *die God, die ka maak ons* der Gott, der uns gemacht hat, hingegen *die God, die ons ka maak* der Gott, den wir gemacht haben. *Wie veracht em, no kom salig* hat den Sinn: Wer ihn verachtet, der wird nicht selig, hingegen *Wie em veracht, no kom salig* heißt: Wen er verachtet, der wird nicht selig. **Diese Genauigkeit der Construction ist wohl zu beobachten, sonderlich bei Übersetzung der heiligen Schrift und geistlichen Lieder, wo man sich leicht verführen lassen kann, dem Deutschen von Wort zu Wort zu folgen, woraus eine Verwirrung der Begriffe, ja viel Seltsames, Ungereimtes und Falsches entstehen würde.** In übersetzten Liedern kann eine kleine Veränderung der Construction, wenn sie keinen verkehrten Sinn macht oder ihn zu sehr verwirret, bisweilen um deswillen stattfinden, weil es sonst oft nicht möglich ist, eine wohl lautende Cäsar in solche Verse zu bringen.

(5a) die God, die ka maak ons
 DET God who PRF make 1PL
 ‘God who created us’

(5b) die God die ons ka maak
 DET God who 1PL PRF make
 ‘God who was created by us’.

Oldendorp continues by saying that this difference in construction should be analyzed well, especially when translating the Holy Scripture and liturgical hymns where one could easily be tempted to follow the German source text word for word. It can easily lead to confusion of ideas and even to strange, absurd and wrong interpretation. When hymns are translated a small change of the construction to make the verse sound better can only be made when it cannot be interpreted as perverse or confusing by the audience.

The change of word order in hymns appears to be problematic. Verses should rhyme to make the hymns more lovely and a bad rhyme is even considered better than no rhyme at all. With regard to the nature of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, female rhyme presents the most difficult problems: most of the Creole words end with a long syllable.⁸

9.4.2 The Moravian Grammar

The manuscript grammar was delivered in two copies. One was written down after 1802 (*Grammatik der Creol-Sprache in West-Indiën*, ms. 214) and the other one is a 1903 copy of the original text which was ordered by D.C. Hesselning (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 289). Neither have been published yet. This grammar contains both examples from Oldendorp’s manuscript and examples⁹ which were not available when Oldendorp wrote his extensive description of the Creole language (Oldendorp 2000: 681- 724). Translators who used this grammar had a prescriptive vision to connect the language of their texts to their audience.

Since several examples of correct use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in this grammar have been taken from the 1802 Moravian translation of the New Testament, the extent to which it is reflection of authentic Creole is under discussion. The Creole language used by German translators is presented as correct

⁸ “Überhaupt ist es nicht leicht, Verse in diese Sprache zu übersetzen, da sie nicht wie andere reich an Ausdrücken, folglich auch nicht zu allerlei Veränderungen derselben so bequem ist. Es gehört zu dieser Arbeit eine besondere Geschicklichkeit. Am schwersten geht es mit den weiblichen Reimen, weil sich die meisten criolischen Wörter mit einer langen Silbe endigen. Ja es hält oft überhaupt schwer, Reime zu bekommen. Je reiner solche sind, desto lieblicher machen sie den Gesang. Kann solche die Armut der Sprache nicht aufbringen, so ist doch ein halber oder ziemlicher Reim allemal besser als gar keiner; und etwas ganz Ungereimtes sollte nie ohne die höchste Not mit unterlaufen.” (Oldendorp 2000: 714)

⁹ Van Rossem (2016)

and became the example for future translators and editors. On the other hand, several examples cannot yet not be found in earlier written sources, and could well be taken from dialogues, which are not in missionary jargon. In the following sections I focus on the changes made according to the prescriptive view of the Moravian Grammar.

With regard to Creole word order, Moravian Grammar (*Grammatik* after 1802: 73-80, 1903: 82-93) contains the section *Von der Construction oder Ordnung der Worte eines Satzes hinter einander zu setzen*.¹⁰ In this small chapter the order of the sentence is described by a system of ten elements which should be placed in a fixed order. The first five elements resemble the categories mentioned by Oldendorp. As in Oldendorp's description, elements can be left out, but it is impossible to rearrange them.

The way the examples were presented, namely also by adding the numbers of the speech parts above of the words, is remarkable.

The following ten elements are described:

1. Conjunction, interrogative pronoun, relative pronoun
2. Nominative (including relative and adjectival clauses)/Subject
3. Negation *no*
4. Verb (including TMA-particles, in *Grammatik* (1903: 85) *Hilfswörtleine*)
5. Adverb *dan* or negation *niet*
6. Dative, often with multipurpose preposition *NA*
7. Accusative
8. Adverb or preposition, related to Verb
9. Preposition (with *NA*) (prepositional phrase)
10. Infinitive, related to Verb

In that section several examples are presented in which these elements are represented.

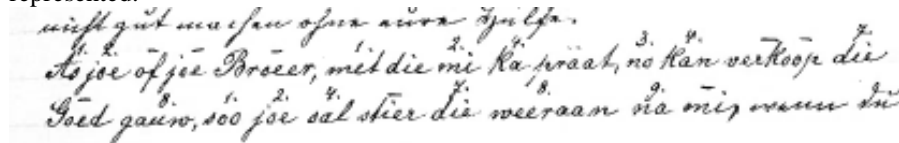


Figure 2: *Grammatik* (1903: 86)

In the example we can see the following speech parts:

Main clause:

1. Conjunction: *As* 'when'
2. Nominative: *joe of joe Broeer*. 'you or your brother'
3. Negation: *no* 'NEG'
4. Verb: *kan verkoop* 'sell'
5. Adverb *DAN*: absent
6. Dative: absent

¹⁰ At a cursory reading of the original 1802 text and its copy of 1903 I found no differences between these texts. Since *Grammatik* (1802) is in *Kurrentschrift* (German cursive) and *Grammatik* (1903) in Latin alphabet, I preferred using *Grammatik* (1903).

7. Accusative: *die Goed* 'the stuff'
8. Adverb or preposition, related to verb: *gauw* 'soon'
9. Preposition: absent
10. Infinitive: absent

Embedded adjective clause:

1. Conjunction/ relative pronoun: *met die* 'with whom'
2. Nominative *mi* 'I'
3. Verb: *ka praat* 'PRF talk'

Coordinated main clause

1. Conjunction: *soo* 'so'
2. Nominative: *joe* 'you, 2SG'
3. Negation: absent
4. Verb: *sal stier* 'will send'
5. Adverb: absent
6. Dative: absent
7. Accusative: *die* 'that'
8. Adverb or preposition related to the verb: *weeraan* 'again'
9. Prepositional clause: *na mi* 'to me'
10. Infinitive: absent

Hesseling (1905: 117-121, par. 71) summarized the Moravian Grammar. His most important remark is: 'The order of the words in the sentence is very strict. Whoever wanted to deviate from this, would say something completely different than what he meant.' (Hesseling 1905: 117)

In the following sentence, Hesseling refers to the word order in 'even the rhymed' translations, which he thinks always remained close to the correct word order, 'even when they allowed Hollandisms and Germanisms in the choice of words or morphology'. The correct order is obviously the word order as described in the Moravian Grammar, to which Hesseling often refers.

Hesseling even notes that: '[the Moravian Brethren, CvR] learned by experience that the correct construction is more essential than accuracy in representing the forms.'

The following rules should be obeyed:

- The subject should be placed before the verb (Hesseling 1905: 118)
- Other objects can only be topicalized before the subject (Hesseling 1905: 118)
- Inversion is never used, not even in questions (Hesseling 1905: 118)
- Questions can be started with *da* or with *dan* behind the verb (Hesseling 1905: 118)
- TMA-particles are placed just before the verb (Hesseling 1905: 118-119)
- Negation is placed just before the TMA-particles (Hesseling 1905: 119)
- Adverbs can only be put before the verb when interpreted as part of the verb (Hesseling 1905: 119)

- Non-verbal parts of compound verbs are placed just behind the verb, even when this is not the same as in Dutch ((Hesseling 1905: 119-120)
- There is a preference for coordination instead of subordinate clauses (Hesseling 1905: 120)

Since the Moravian Grammar was written after 1802 and since all word order changes were made in earlier manuscripts, this text cannot have been used as a prescriptive grammar for the manuscripts in which word order change by numbers appears. If translators changed the word order according to the grammar, it is a descriptive grammar, based on the texts of the Moravian Brethren. On the other hand, metalinguistic comments, for instance in Böhner's letter of May 11, 1773, show that Oldendorp's opinion about correct language use is of importance. The Moravian Grammar is however much more extensive than Oldendorp's manuscriptal grammar on word order.

9.5 Results

9.5.1 Initial remarks

This method of changing word order by adding numbers appears in only five texts: 321, 322, 324, 325, 326 and 3315a. Text 3315a is the only one of these manuscripts which was not written down by Johann Böhner. Only the changes in 321 and 322 can be compared to each other to study history of translation (or something alike).

Text		Date	# Changes
321	Gospel Harmony	Before 1780	5
322	Gospel Harmony	1780	8
324	Acts, Letters and Revelation	1780?	5
326	Idea Fidei Fratrum	1780	9
325	Old Testament	Before 1785	12 ¹¹
3315	Creole Sermons	1796	9
Total			48

Table 1: Number of numeral word order changes per text

Two of the changes mentioned above were in the German language, and so in the following sections I use 46 as the total number of appearances.

- (6) <schrei<2>> be<1>[-srei]bung (322a1: p.28)
 'description'. *besreibung* becomes *beschreibung*, insertion of <ch>

- (7) solange Gottes<2>Wort<3> nicht<1> in ihnen
 as long as God's Word NEG in them

¹¹ Manuscript 325 is the largest and so the fact that it has the highest number of appearances could be due to the length of the text.

K<r>aftig worden ist (325a: 1)
strong become is

‘As long as not God’s Word has become strong in them’. The negation *nicht* refers to the subject Gottes *Wort* instead of to the adverbial phrase *in ihnen*.

One of the puzzling aspects of this way of changing word order, is the use of the number 1 above of the first word of the construction. It means the first word remains in the first position and therefore I believe the indication is superfluous, unless the author recognizes the linguistic meaning of the word in this construction/word group or indicates the word as an anchoring point for the entire construction. This occurs in 13 of the 46 cases.

- (8) Deese<1> sender<2>a<4> wees<5> allemaal<3> gedü[u+]<r>ig
This 3PL PST be all continually
- bi malkander (321: 298)
with each other

In this case pronoun *sender* must be interpreted as a plural marker on demonstrative *Deese*. Since *allemaal* is moved to the place between *sender* and *a*, and becomes a part of the group *Deese sender allemaal*, meaning ‘all of them’, *Deese sender* seems to be the anchoring point which needs to be marked.

The same holds for the situations in which the highest number is used for the last word of the group for which the word order is being changed. This occurs in 9 of the 46 cases.

- (9) Die<2> Aerger<1> jender<3>? (322a2: 167)
This annoy 2PL

The need for marking *jender* is unclear.

9.5.2 Categories of changes

The 46 Virgin Island Dutch Creole appearances can be placed in the following categories:

#	Category	Information
26	Verb phrase	Includes SVO-order, position of negation and TMA-markers, distance between auxiliary and past participle and distance between parts of compound verbs and parts of verbal expressions
8	Adverb	Position of adverb, mainly first position in sentences
5	Object	Position of object and indirect object
4	Source	Word order as in source text

2	Plural markers	<i>Sender and allemaal</i>
2	Orthography	Position of tokens in words
1	Reflexive	Distance between subject and reflexive pronoun

Table 2: Categories of word order change

As we have seen in chapter 6 *Audience Design Theory and the Danish Antilles*, a distinction should be made between emendations made to connect to addressees and auditors and the emendations which were made to connect to the referee(s).

Auditor-related emendations show Creole aspects, explanations of jargon, and the use of a Creole, which was widely understood by both the community of Christianized slaves and the participating missionaries.¹² Since the only references to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word order were made in descriptive grammars or other language studies, the word order presented can be seen as the proper one for this audience.

Referee-related emendations show close relations to the source text, a missionary/Christian jargon, a tradition in translating, and metalinguistic comments related to religious jargon. Changes towards the word order in the source texts, for instance, can be recognized as referee-related. An example of this is the change of *Jesu Christo* into *Christo Jesu* (see example 33). The latter form is an exception in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts: *Jesus Christus*, or at least this order of it, is the common form.

9.5.3 Addressee and auditor design: verb-related change

In 26 of 46 cases the change in word order implied that the verb should be placed in the correct position with regard to the subject or with regard to verb-related adverbs, particles and prepositions. Since the rule was noted in the Moravian Grammar, and since the word order changes by numbers were made about twenty years before the composition of the Moravian Grammar, the corrector/translator must have been aware of this grammatical rule without using a written grammar. This word order description is not included in Oldendorp's grammar (2000: 681-724).¹³

Conjunction – Subject – Verb (1-2-4)¹⁴

Hesseling (1905: 117): Primary is that the subject precedes the verb. Inversion never occurs, not even as it does in Dutch, in questions. In the following examples subjects are replaced:

(10a) (322a2: 195)

Dan<1>	a<3>	see<4>	Jesus<2>	weeraan<5>	na sender
Then	PST	say	Jesus	again	NA 3PL

¹² See chapter 6.4.3 for a description of this variant of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

¹³ It is also unclear who had access to this Moravian Grammar.

¹⁴ Numbers according to *Grammatik* (after 1802, 1903).

(10b) (322c: 323)

Maar met Meddernacht a<3> kom<4> een<1> geroep<2>:
But with midnight PST come a calling

(10c) (325c: 210)

en *...* vremd a<2> ka<3> kom<4> mi<1> mi
and - strange PST PRF come 1SG 1SG

bekende sender.
familiar 3PL

(10d) (325b: 31)

Hoppo<2> joe<1> morg Vroe,
Get up 2SG tomorrow morning

(10e) (325d: 58)

als*...*n sall<2> Water<1> loop<3> ut van die
when FUT Water run/walk out of this

(10f) (3315a: 12)

as dat <jender *[-soo]*> toevorn<2> krieg<1> [-*.*]
when that 2PL.[-so] before get

een rechte Indruk
a correct impression

(10g) (3315a: 15)

Maar as [-joe] <jender> met<2> een<3> dink<1> [-op]:
But when 2SG.2PL immediately think up

(10h) (326a: 94)

vordaarom see<2> Paulus<1>
therefore say Paul

(10i) (326a: 205)

wie<1> die<3> Nam<4> Christi<5> roep<2>
who that name Christ call

(10j) (326b: 446)

dat die Godt<2> ben<1> een groote ernst
that that God is a great seriousness

(10k) (324a: 100)

(...) kom<5> die<1> Toorn<2> van<3> Godt<4>
(...) come that wrath of God

- (10l) (321: 55)
 d[at+]<ie><3> doe<2> jender<1> na<4> sender:
 th[at+]<is> do 2PL NA 3PL

The topicalized object is placed after the verb. In most variants (322, 3231, 3232 and 3110) we see the S-V-order with a topicalized object, however in Magens (1781, text 315) we see the same construction as in 321: *jellie doe dat na sender ookal* (Matt. 7: 11).

Questions

- (11a) (3315a: 15)
 kan<2> ons<1>, <alreeds> (...)?
 can 1PL already

However, in 322 we see a remarkable change in a question sentence:

- (11b) (322a2: 167)
 Die<2> Aerger<1> jender<3>?
 This annoy 2PL

The last example shows that the Creole word order (S-V) is changed into a Germanic one (V-S-O), like it was in an earlier version of the manuscript (321). In Magens (1781) we find the S-V-O order: *dat erger jender?* In 3110, the printed Gospel Harmony of 1833, the sentence is as follows:

- (11c) (3110: 135)
 deese erger jender?
 this annoy 2PL

In 321, the translator was not aware of the Creole word order, in 322 the translator used the Creole order, but corrected it, perhaps as a result of referee-design. In 3110 however, according to the Moravian Grammar, the word order became the Creole one.

Negation – Particle – Verb (3-5-5)

Hesseling (1905: 117): Words which determine the nature of the act, are invariably placed close before the words which functions as the verb. The verbal particles (*h*)*a*, *ka*, *lo*, *sa(l)*, the auxiliaries *wil*, *kan*, *moet* and the negation *no* are inseparable from the verbal stem. The negation *no* can be seen as a new negative aspect of the verb and the related particles. The only change in which a negation is involved is the following:

- (12) (3315a: 3)
 Maar die a<2> no<1> wees lang,
 But this PST NEG is long

A few cases show the position of the TMA-particle, but also trigger the question of whether the part to be replaced actually is a verbal particle.

- (13) (325a: 10)
- | | | | | |
|------|------|--------|-------------|--------|
| van | die | joe<1> | genoomen<3> | ben<2> |
| from | this | 2SG | taken | is |

Is *ben* ‘is’ a TMA-particle? No, and it is not mentioned in Moravian Grammar (*Grammatik* 1903: 85) as a verbal particle; however, it can be recognized as one. Strictly speaking it is an auxiliary verb and *genomen* ‘taken’ has the look of a Dutch past participle. Since Creole grammar shows only one form of the verb, which is conjugated by particles, the use of the auxiliary should be included in this paragraph.

- (14) (326a: 63)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|----------|------|-------|---------|
| wat<1> | ge<5> | maakt<6> | a<2> | ka<3> | word<4> |
| what | made | | PST | PRF | become |

As in (13), this sentence contains a Dutch-like past participle, *ge maakt* ‘made’, these are replaced by stem-like verbal forms in the spoken, Virgin Island Dutch Creole of the twentieth-century, in this case *maak*. The verbal elements used to conjugate this verb are *a* PST, *ka* PERF and the auxiliary *word* ‘become’. According to the Moravian Grammar, these elements should be placed before the verbal stem.

In the following example something similar seems to be the case; however, the verb, *gedoopt* ‘baptized’, conjugated as a Dutch past participle, is placed at the end of the sentence, like in Dutch. In Creole this verb should be interpreted as a ‘general’ verb, and the auxiliary *ben* ‘is’ as a TMA-particle. The verbal stem should thus be placed between *ben* and *na*.

- (15) (324a: 12)
- | | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------|-------|---------|-------------|
| die | ben<1> | na<3> | Si<4> | dood<5> | gedoopt<2>? |
| this | is | NA | 3SG | death | baptized |

No discussion is necessary with regard to the following example.

- (16) (325d: 58)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|----------|---------|-----|-----|-----|
| als*...*n | sall<2> | Water<1> | loop<3> | ut | van | die |
| as | FUT | water | walk | out | of | it |

The TMA-particle *sall* (future tense) should be placed before the verb *loop* ‘go’, or the verbal stem should be positioned right behind tense-marker *sall*.

Compound verb – related prepositions and adverbs

In the Moravian Grammar the position of prepositions and adverbs belonging to compound verbs is not recorded. Hesseling (1905: 119) notes that in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole the prepositions of Dutch compound verbs are always placed behind the related main verb. In some cases, the parts of verbs which are inseparable in Dutch, are also placed behind the main verb in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Examples (from Hesseling 1905: 119) are: *mi sa due an mi rok* (D. ik zal mijn rok aandoen, ‘I will do my skirt’), *aster hem ha ka sit neer* (D. toen hij neergezeten was, ‘when he was sat down’). In the following examples, we see separated prepositions which are transferred to a position closer to the verb, but not directly behind it. In twentieth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, related prepositions are seen as an inseparable suffix of the verb.

For instance the following sentence shows the preposition of the Dutch compound verb *opsteken* ‘to light up’ is moved closer to the verb, but still behind subject *volk* ‘people and adverb *ook* ‘also’.

- (17) (322a2: 146)
- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------|------|--------|---------|-------|
| stek | volk | ook | een<2> | Kers<3> | op<1> |
| light | people | also | a | candle | on |

Only Magens’ 1781 translation of the New Testament (315) also has this construction: *Volk steek op een Keers*. In examples from twentieth-century texts, we see the related verb *stiko* (Sabino 2012: 284) and *stikoi* (etym. *steek weg*, *wegsteken* ‘to hide’). See also the appearances of *stikoi* and *stikui* in De Josselin de Jong’s (1926) texts in the Clarin-NEHOL database. *Stekop* ‘to light up’ does not appear in twentieth-century texts.

- (18) (325b: 112)
- | | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| Neem | die | Seeg<en> | van<2> | mi<3> | aan<1> |
| take | this | blessing | from | 1SG | on |

The Dutch compound verb *aannemen* ‘to accept’ is the etymon of *Neem (...) aan*. The preposition *aan* ‘on’ is placed in the direction of the verbal stem, but is still separated from it by the subject *Seegen* ‘blessing’.

- (19) (325f: 217)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|-----|---------|---------|--------------|
| joe | sal | *...* | af | niemand | mee<r> | na<2>\toe<3> |
| 2SG | FUT | - | off | nobody | anymore | towards |
- laat<1>[-en].
let

In the above mentioned example the verb *laat* ‘let’ is placed directly before the preposition(s) *na* ‘NA’ and *toe* ‘towards’. The Dutch etymon is *toelaten* ‘to permit’, but the construction *na\toe* reminds me to the Dutch adverb *naartoe* ‘towards’. The Dutch verb *liefhebben* ‘to love’ is the etymon of eighteenth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *hab liev*. In examples (20) and (21) we see a different change:

- (20) (324a: 101)
- | | | | |
|--------|-----------|---------|---------|
| hab<1> | jender<3> | Wijf<4> | liev<2> |
| have | 2PL | wife | love |
- ‘to love your wife’

According to Hesseling (1905: 119) we see that the adverbial part of the compound verb is placed right behind the verb. In the next example, however, *lief* is moved away from the verb and towards the end of the sentence, like in Dutch.

- (21) (3315a: 12)
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------|------|---------|-------|-----|------|---------|-----------|
| Want | as | [-Volk] | <ons> | sal | hab | lief<2> | iemand<1> |
| because | when | people | 1PL | FUT | have | love | someone |

An explanation of this could be that this construction is unknown to the auditors and is introduced as church jargon. The verb is not attested in the twentieth century. *To love* is expressed by *wel*, which has its etymology in Dutch dialectal varieties which have *willen* ('to want' in standard Dutch) as 'to love'. Hesseling (1905: 290) mentions Magens (1770: 73) and Pontoppidan (1881: 138).

- (22) (A. Stevens in Sabino 2012, fragment 287)

Mi	no	wel	Brot	mi	botu
1SG	NEG	love	bread	with	butter

In the case of the verbal expression *in volle vlam staan* 'to be ablaze' the verb *sta*an** 'stand' must be in the first position of the expression.

- (23) (322e: 144)
- | | | | | | |
|------------|------|-------------|-------|----------|----------|
| die | moet | geduurig | na<2> | volle<3> | Vlamm<4> |
| this (one) | must | continually | NA | full | flame |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------------|----|--------|-----|-------|
| sta*an*<-1> | na | voor | ons | Oogo, |
| stand | NA | before | our | eye |

'this one must continually stand ablaze before our eyes'

All the examples present the order as presented in the Moravian Grammar (*Grammatik* after 1802, 1903).

Position of infinitive

According to the word order prescriptions in the Moravian Grammar, an infinitive should be placed in the final position of the sentence. The following example can be explained by that rule.

- (24) (325d: 30)
- | | | | | |
|---------|-----|----------|---------|-----------|
| derwiel | mi | latstaan | loop<2> | jender<1> |
| because | 1SG | let | go/walk | 2PL |
- 'because I let you go/walk'

The Dutch translation of this sentence would be: *terwijl ik jullie laat gaan/lopen*. The verb *loop* has the function of infinitive.

9.5.4 Addressee and auditor design: other changes

In this chapter I only focus on word order changes which could be detected by the addition of numbers. 26 of these can be attributed to the position of the auxiliary and the parts of speech which should be placed near it, like TMA-particles and negation, and to the position of the other verbs in the sentence, like the infinitive.

Twenty of the 46 word order changes are related to other positions in the sentence and different parts of speech.

The first position of the sentence

The first position of the verb, the conjunction, does not always consist of only one word. See for instance the following examples:

- (25) (321c: 244)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|-------|--------|-----|-----|------|-----|--------|
| so | glik | mi<2> | ook<1> | no | ben | van | die | Werld. |
| so | like | 1SG | also | NEG | are | from | the | world |
- ‘Like I am not of this world’

The subject *mi* ‘I’ should be placed directly before the negation *no*. This means that the adverb *ook* ‘also’ becomes a part of the conjunctive construction *so glik ook* ‘just like’. Another example is the following.

- (26) (321c: 191)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|--------|----------|----|-------|------|------|-----|
| Och | as<1> | joe<3> | ook<2> | , nochal | na | deese | joe | Tid | <a> |
| O | as | 2SG | also | still | NA | this | your | time | PST |
-
- | | | |
|-----|------|---------|
| sal | will | bekenn |
| FUT | will | confess |
- ‘If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, (...)’ (Lieberkühn 1771)

The same as in (25) happens here. The adverb *ook* ‘also’ becomes a part of *as ook* ‘just like’.

Pronouns and pronoun clusters

The positions of pronouns in the sentence is of course related to the part of speech that the pronoun refers to. In a few cases the pronouns themselves should be looked at.

In the first place, one of the word order changes shows that a reflexive should be placed immediately behind the related pronoun.

- (27) (322e: 499)
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------|---------|---------|
| Want | jender<1> | weet<3> | selv<2> |
| because | 2PL | know | self |
- ‘Because you know yourself(?)’

It is interesting to note that the oldest version of this text (321) has *Want jender selv weet*, while the Danish translation contains the same construction as the unchanged version of 322: *Maer jellie weet selv* (315: 629).

One of the possible ways to mark plurality in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is by adding the pronoun of 3PL just behind the singular form of the noun. Other words may also indicate plurality. *Algaar* and *allemaal* are well known examples of indicators which can be placed after nouns and pronouns to indicate ‘all’.¹⁵, however they have not been closely studied yet. In (28) it looks as if demonstrative *Deese* is marked as a plural.

(28) (321: h1, 14, 298)

Deese<1>	sender<2>	a<4>	wees<5>	allemaal<3>	gedü[u+]<r>ig
This	3PL	PST	are	all	continually
bi malkander					
with each other					

It seems as if the indefinite cardinal *allemaal* ‘all’ is seen as a part of the subject, which adds, like *sender*, plurality to the demonstrative *Deese*. In (29) the indefinite cardinal *allemaal* is used as the head of the object. Although the meaning of *allemaal* already includes it, the plurality of this object is mainly presented by the 3PL *sender*.

(29) (3315a: 11)

vereer na	sender<2>	allemaal<1>	die Genade
honor NA	3PL	all	the grace
‘Honor to all of them the grace.’			

This text (3315) is, as far as I know, not translated and this change cannot be due to a fixed construction in a source text.

Indirect object?

According to the Moravian Grammar, the prepositional phrase, eventually preceded by *na*, should be placed at the end of the sentence. This occurs in the following examples:

¹⁵ Stein (p.c.) indicated that the use of these words as markers is of interest. A short survey in the first 35 sections of 321 shows the following examples of *allegaar* as an indicator: *Maar Maria a behou die Woorten allegaar* ‘however Maria PST keep DET words all. (321: 6), *dann sal die Goed allegaar vall jender toe* ‘then FUT DET good all fall 2PL to’ (321: 25). In Dutch (WNT s.v. ALLEGAAR, 1) *allegaar* can be connected to a singular noun or pronoun to indicate a collective: *wie kan dat evel allegaar zo op zijn elf-en-dertigste beleeven?* (1784) ‘who can live through that all evel at a snail’s pace’.

- (30) (3315a: 10)
 en lat [-gie] na<3> jen-der<4> gie<1> Part<2> van si geheel
 and let give NA 2PL give part of his entire
 Verdienst
 merit

The meaning of this sentence is hard to directly link to the glosses. In its contexts it means 'let yourself be a part of all his merits'. The indirect object *na jender* is moved behind the verbal group *lat gie Part*. However, it can also be an example of a verbal expression which should not be split.

The second example is also somewhat unclear. The German text is:

- (31a) und meine Verwandten sind mir fremd geworden
 (Luther 1912, Hiob 19: 13)

The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which puzzles me somewhat, is:

- (31b) (325c: 210)
 en *...* vremd a<2> ka<3> kom<4> mi<1> mi bekende
 and strange PST PRF become 1SG 1POSS acquaintance
 sender.
 3PL

Is the Indirect Object *mi* moved to a position in front of the verbal group to split the two occurrences of *mi*? In (32) the reason for the change is much clearer.

- (32) (326: 446)
 dat die Godt<2> ben<1> een groote ernst
 that this God is a great seriousness

The group *die God* could have been interpreted as the Subject 'the God', giving this sentence the meaning: 'that God is a great seriousness'. The change of the position of Indirect Object *God* ensures that it communicates the correct meaning: 'that this is for God a great seriousness.'

9.5.5 Referee design-related word order change

A few of the word order changes cannot be explained by the above mentioned grammatical rules. A closer look shows that the translator actually changed the word order into the order which was used in the source text. The only reason for this must be the translator's drive to follow the source text closely.

- (33) (324b: 143)
 Na voor Jesu<2> Christo<1>
 before Jesus Christ

Although ‘Jesus Christ’ appears in this order several times, in this case the Lutheran source text uses *Jesus Christi*, *Jesu Christo* and *Christo Jesu* (1 Timothy 6: 13).

- (34) (326b: 374)
 Groot<3> of<2> Kleen<1> goed<4>
 large or small things

The German source text is as follows: (...) es sey was **kleines** oder was **grosses** (Idea Fidei Fratrum 1801: 325). There is no reason for changing this word order other than to more closely follow the original German source text.

- (35) (325b: 149)
 na<1> mi<4> Vader<5>, joe<2> Knecht<3>
 NA my father your servant
 ‘to my father, your servant’

In Genesis 44: 30 we find: *Nun, so ich heimkäme zu deinem Knecht, meinem Vater* (Luther 1912) and ‘Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father’ (King James). Both *Knecht* and *Vater* refer to the same person (Jacob), who is both the father of Juda and the servant of the pharaoh (Joseph). The change of order has no effect on the meaning of the sentence, but referee design calls for the original source text.

Example (36) shows a switch of two adjuncts:

- (36) (322a1: 69)
 Em a kik twee<2> ander<1> Broeders<3>
 3SG PST see two other Brothers

In the possible source text, Lieberkühn (1769/1820: 44) we read *zween andere Brüder*. This construction is used in 3231, 3232 and 3110, and even in Magens’ translation of the New Testament, 315. The English translation of the Gospel Harmony, Lieberkühn (1771) has ‘other two brethren’. Only in 321, the earliest Creole translation of the Gospel Harmony ‘other two brothers’ was used. This indicates that 321 was the source text of 322.

The possible reason for this construction relate to the auditor design.

- (36a) Em a kik **twee Broer**, (...) sender a wees Vischermann. En as Em a loop een beetje verder, Em a kik **twee<2> ander<1> Broeders<3>**
 ‘He saw **two brothers** (.....) who were fishermen. And when he walked a little further, he saw [the] **other two brothers**.’

In (36a) it seems as if *twee Broer* is one element which is referred to in the following sentence: ‘He saw X. And when he walked a little further he saw the other X’.

- (37) (325a: 3)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------|--------|---------|------|---------|
| en<1> | Vogels<5> | van<2> | all<3> | Sort<4> | met | Pliem, |
| and | birds | of | all | kind | with | feather |
- elkeen na si manir
 everyone NA his way
 ‘and every winged fowl after his kind’

The possible German source text, Luther’s translation of the Old Testament, has: *Allerlei gefiedertes gevogel, ein jegliches nach seinen Art*. The Creole construction *van all Sort* ‘of all kind’ is placed before *Vogels* ‘birds’, just like the word *Allerlei* ‘all kinds of’ in the source text.

9.6 Final remarks

The above mentioned changes of word order present a unique method of emendation. The translators or editors were well aware of the constructions and deliberately changed one word order into a better one by using a clear encoding. The numbers were eye-catching and so these word order changes could be studied easily.

This way of changing word order does not occur often. Remember that although the entire Clarin-NEHOL corpus consists of thousands of pages, it only contains these 46 Virgin Islands Dutch Creole attestations. Other changes of word order appear, but these are done by deleting, overwriting and annotating the words. The goal of this paper is purely to present an indication and not to give an all-encompassing account of word order change in eighteenth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations. Further research with regard to this method of coding word order change in Creoles should at least incorporate the Surinamese Creole (Sranan and Saramaccan) missionary manuscripts of the Moravian Brethren. It would not surprise me if this encoding is also present in eighteenth-century translations into other languages used in other overseas missions of the Moravian Brethren. Unfortunately the only attestation thus far, in Wietz (1792), appears to be an error.

The Moravian Grammar (*Grammatik* after 1802, 1903) has not yet been used, or studied. It is interesting to see that this text contains a chapter in which Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word order is studied more extensively than in previous grammars like Magens (1770) or the descriptions written by Oldendorp. The use of numbers above the parts of the sentence is a helpful tool which has no relation to the use of numbers to change word order. Two copies of the grammar exist, neither of which has yet been studied. Future research, which needs to be preceded by meticulous transcription of German handwritten text, will present an interesting view on the language observations of the Moravian Brethren at the end of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century.

One of the questions is, whether the changes reveal a language policy in which translators deliberately choose a variant which suited the auditors of the text, and so used a language variety which can be labeled as authentic. In several examples we see that the changes were made towards Creole word order as described in the Moravian Grammar, and should therefore be recognized as connecting to an audience of Creole speakers. Nevertheless, we also see changes which show the

opposite: constructions which could not be understood wrongly by the audience were changed to make the text more similar to the source text. This must have been done to connect to the referee, the source text.

9.7 Appearances in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts

The only German examples of order change in my corpus are (38), (39) and (40):

- (38) (322a1: p.28)
 <schrei<2>>be<1>[-srei]bung
 ‘description’

The word *besreibung* is corrected into *beschreibung*. The part *schrei* was placed in the left margin, because of lack of space on the line itself.

In the preface of the Old Testament we find the following change:

- (39) (325a: Vorrede)
 solange Gottes<2> Wort<3> nicht<1> in ihnen K<r>aftig
 as long as God’s Word not in them strong

 worden ist
 become is

The impact of the change is the relation between *nicht* ‘not’ and another speech part. Initially *nicht* was an adverbial related to *kraftig worden ist*. It was changed into an attribute related to *Gottes Wort*.

In Böhner’s letter of August 2, 1781 to Joseph Spangenberg the following change is used:

- (40) das übersezen ist<4> auch, aus<1> der<2> h. schrift<3>,
 translating is also from the holy scripture

 meine liebste arbeit
 my dearest work

I suppose Böhner realized after writing the word *auch* that an addition had to be made in order to clarify which texts he actually is translating.

	text	page	section	text
1	321a	55	25	d[at+]<ie><3> doe<2> jender<1> na<4> sender:
2	321c	191	88	Och as<1> joe<3> ook<2>, nochal na deese joe Tid <a> sal will beken
3	321c	244	110	Sender no ben van die Werld, so glik mi<2> ook<1> no ben van die Werld.
4	321d	298	Acts 1	De<1>ese se<2>nder a<4> we<5>es alle<- 3>maal gedü[u+]<r>ig bi malkan der

5	321d	316	Acts 5	en<1> em<4> a<2> hang<3> aan een hoop
6	322a1	69	23	Em a kik twee<2> ander<1> Broeders<3>
7	322a2	146	43	stek volk ook een<2> Kers<3> op<1>,
8	322a2	167	46	Die<2> Aerger<1> jender<3>?
9	322a2	195	54	Dan<1> a<3> see<4> Jesus<2> weeraan<5> na sender
10	322c	323	103	Maar met Meddernacht a<3> kom<4> een<1> geroep<2>:
11	322c	332	104	vn<2>a<1>
12	322e	499	Acts 20	Want jender<1> weet<3> selv<2>
13	325a	3	1 mos 1	<en<1> Vogels<5> van<2> all<3> Sort<4> met Pliem, elkeen na si manir>
14	325a	10	1 mos 3	van die joe<1> genoegmen<3> ben<2>
15	325a	51	1 mos 18	As maar<2> altemts<1> veertig<3> sal wees gevonden nabinne
16	325b	112	1 mos 33	Neem die Seeg<en> van<2> mi<3> aan<1>
17	325b	149	1 mos 44	En noe, as mi sal kom nahoes na<1> mi<4> Vader<5>, joe<2> Knecht<3>,
18	325c	210	hiob 19	en *...* vremd a<2> ka<3> kom<4> mi<1> mi bekende sender.
19	325d	31	2 mose 8	Hoppo<2> joe<1> morg Vroe,
20	325d	30	2 mos 10	derwiel mi latstaan loop<2> jender<1>
21	325d	58	2 mos 17	als*...*n sall<2> Water<1> loop<3> ut van die
22	325e	144	3 mos 6	die moet geduurig na<2> volle<3> Vlamm<4> sta*...<1>* na voor ons Oogo,
23	325f	217	4 mos 18	joe sal *...* af niemand mee<r> na<2>\toe<3> laat<1>[-en].
24	3315a	1		Em a segen elkeen met een Segen<2> apart<1>.
25	3315a	1		hoesoo ons liefje Heiland [-ook] [-Em] [-ookal] segen<2> ookal<1> elkeen met een aparte Seegen.
26	3315a	3		Maar die a<2> no<1> wees lang,
27	3315a	10		en lat [-gie] na<3> jender<4> gie<1> Part<2> van si geheel Verdienst
28	3315a	11		vereer na sender<2> allemaal<1> die Genade,
29	3315a			as dat <jender *[-soo]*> toevorn<2> krieg<1> [-*.*] een rechte Indruk
30	3315a			Want as [-Volk] <ons> sal hab lief<2> iemand<-1>,

31	3315a			Maar as [-joe] <jender> met<2> een<3> dink<-1> [-op]:
32	3315a			kan<2> ons<1>, <@alreeds> (...)?
33	326a	41	19	van <ul. Godt> a<3> ka<4> word<5> gegeeven<6> tot ons (Heil) Saligheid, [-en die] ut<1> genade<2>
34	326a	52	23	as<3> een<4> godtlik<5> Boek<6> wies<1> em<2>
35	326a	63	28	wat<1> ge<5> maakt<6> a<2> ka<3> word<4>
36	326a	83	39	vor set üt na<3> die<4> Weer<5> som<1>wat<2>
37	326a	94	48	vordaarom see<2> Paulus<1>
38	326a	205	94	wie<1> die<3> Nam<4> Christi<5> roep<2>
39	326b	374	157	groot<3> of<2> Kleen<1>goed<4>
40	326b	446	181	dat die Godt<2> ben<1> een groote ernst
41	326b	448	181	Maar ben<1> noch<4> bij<2> die<3> vor erinner
42	324a	12		die ben<1> na<3> Si<4> dood<5> gedoopt<2>?
43	324a	100		kom<5> die<1> Toorn<2> van<3> Godt<4>
44	324a	101		hab<1> jender<3> Wif<4> liev<2>
45	324b	143		na voor Jesu<2> Christo<1>
46	324b	195		die<1> even<4> met<2> ons<3> die<5> selve

Table 3: All Virgin Islands Dutch Creole cases of numeral word order change

10. Replacements¹

An easy way to correct a text is to delete the element which is incorrect and, if necessary, replace it with the one which is needed. In the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts a huge number of deletions can be found. Since many of these were made to correct obvious mistakes made during the writing process, I focused on the deletions which were accompanied by a replacement. These manipulations in the texts reveal conscious emendations to modify the language, presumably to make it more suitable for the intended audience. In the following chapter I will show that these replacements can be used as indicators of authentic Dutch Creole, possibly as it was used by the auditors of the text or as confirmation of the right missionary jargon towards the referees.

10.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters 8 and 9, the emendations were made in an unusual way. The number of these vertical presentations and word order changes in the corpus made a complete study manageable. Deletions, however, are extremely frequent, not only within the Clarin-NEHOL corpus, and because of the frequency of these editorial interventions, mainly to correct obvious mistakes, I will focus on those deletions which are accompanied by an element which can be recognized as newly added, the replacements.

The replacements are not always bound to one single instance of correction, but can also reflect a tendency. As stated in the preceding chapters, the emendations can be made to connect to the one or more of the groups in the audience, especially the auditors, to the referee, source text, or to a tradition. In the following section I will present a case in which a paragraph was densely corrected by an editor. Closer analysis shows a clear reason for this: the language which was originally used appeared to be out of date and needed to be replaced. Since only the first section of the manuscript was corrected this way, it may have looked as if it was not necessary to change the rest of the text; however, a closer look at the replacement shows that the editor did not go further because correcting the rest of the text turned out to be too large a job.

In the following sections I will focus on two ways to replace linguistic items: replacement by overwriting and replacement by glossing.

10.2 An example: sketch of correction of a text

On the title page of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translation (1780) of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (1778),² the translator Johann Böhner makes an important metalinguistic remark:

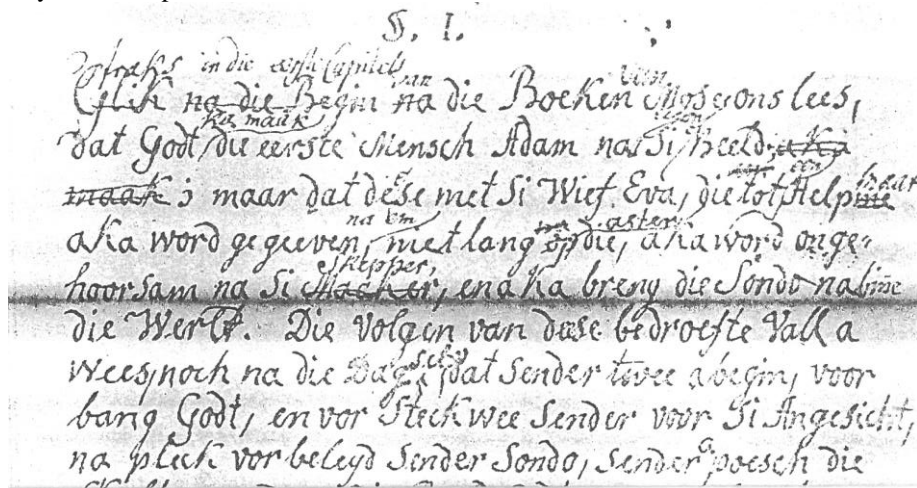
¹ My first presentation on this subject was given on March 14th, 2014 during the workshop *Negerhollands in Nijmegen, Corpus Based Creolistics/Clarin-NEHOL*. Valuable comments were given to me by Pieter Muysken, Frans Hinskens, Hans Kienhorst and Robbert van Sluijs.

² Date of publication 1778. I used the 1789 edition (Spangenberg 1789).

‘And after receiving this worthy book translated into the creole or negro language, also for the use of reading it aloud to the negro community, because only few know how to read.’³

The addressees of this translation are the members of the community of Christianized enslaved inhabitants, but since the book had to be read aloud to them, the missionaries who read it can be seen as auditors. It is likely that the writer takes into account both the native speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and the missionary colleagues who are speakers of, especially, German and perhaps some Dutch, and for whom Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was only their second or third language.

One can expect this text to be well constructed for both occasions when it addresses illiterate speakers of a language without knowledge of biblical/liturgical jargon, and also when it is read to the listeners by missionaries who need to connect to their audience and who also know the source text. Perhaps that is why the beginning of Johann Böhner’s 1780 translation of the so-called *Idea Fidei Fratrum* is edited so densely, see example 1.



Example 1: *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (326: 9)

Our transcription is the following:

[-Glik] <ol.Straks> [-na die Begin] <ol.in die eerste Capitels> [-na] <ol.van> die Boeken <ol.van> Mose<s> ons lees, dat Godt <ol.ka maak> die eerste Mensch Adam na si <ol.*eigen*> Beeld [-a ka] [-maak]; maar dat de<ol.e>se met si Wief Eva, die <ol.[-een]> tot <ol.een> Help[-ine]<ol.maak> a ka word gegeven <ol.na em>, niet lang <ol.[-na]> [-op] <ol.aster> die, a ka word ongehoorsam na si [-Maaker] <ol.Skepper>, en a ka breng die Sondo nabinne die Werl[t+]<d>.

³ “Und nach empfang dieses Werthen Boechs in die Creol oder Neger Sprache übersetzt, aüch zu beliebigem gebrauch für die Neger Gemeine dar aüs vor zülesen, weil doch die wenigsten sebst lesen können.” (326: 1)

From these remarks we can see that the original translation was:

Glik na die Begin na die Boeken Mose
immediately NA DET beginning NA DET books Moses.GEN

ons lees, dat Godt die eerste Mensch Adam
1PL read that God DET first man Adam

na si Beeld a ka maak; maar dat dese met
NA 3POS image PST PRF make but that this.one with

si Wief Eva, die tot Helpine a ka word
3POS wife Eve who to helper.FEM PST PRF become

gegeeven, niet lang op die, a ka word
given NEG long on this, PST PRF become

onghehoorsam na si Maaker, en a ka
disobedient NA 3POS maker and PST PRF

breng die Sondo nabinne die Werlt
bring DET sin into DET world.⁴

The final version, however, has been considerably modified. Changed elements are underlined:

Straks in die eerste Capitels van die Boeken
Immediately⁵ in DET first chapter.PL of DET book.PL

van Moses ons lees, dat Godt ka maak die eerste
of Moses 1PL read that God PRF make DET first

Mensch Adam na si *eigen* Beeld; maar dat
man Adam NA 3POS own image but that

deese met si Wief Eva, die [-een] tot een Helpmaat
this with 3POS wife Eve who one to DET helper

a ka word gegeeven na em niet lang

⁴ 'Immediately at the beginning of the books of Moses, we read that God had created the first man, Adam, after his image, however that this one, and his wife Eve, who was given to him as his helper, not long after this, had become disobedient to his Maker and had brought the sin into the world'.

⁵ *Straks* in modern Dutch 'later on'. See however WNT s.v. STRAKS, 1. 'immediately' which is obsolete nowadays. German it is still in use: Duden s.v. STRACKS, 2 'sofort'.

PST PRF become given NA 3SG NEG long
 [-na] aster die, a ka word ongehoorsam na
 NA after this PST PRF become disobedient NA
 si Skepper, en a ka breng die Sondo
 3POS creator and PST PRF bring DET sin
 nabinge die Werld.
 inside DET world

On April 30, 1784 (*Visitationsbericht* 1784) it is indicated that a new translation of missionary texts is necessary. This includes the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* and from the same text (*Visitationsbericht* 1784: 62, see chapter 5) it is clear that Johann Christoph Auerbach is the best one to rewrite the older texts. It is interesting to see that some of the changes in Böhner's translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* were made by another scribe. This handwriting seems to be, based on the shape of the letter *S*, of Auerbach (Van Rossem 2014, April 25), meaning that after this meeting in 1784 Auerbach must have started to edit the text, and these changes were made in the first section:

	Originally....	Changed into....
1	Glik	Straks
2	Na die begin	In die eerste Capittels
3	Na die boeken Mose	Van die Boeken van Moses
4	Godt die eerste Mensch Adam na si Beeld a ka maak	Godt ka maak die eerste Mensch Adam na si *eigen* Beeld
5	Helpine	Helpmaat
6	-	Na em
7	niet lang op die	niet lang [-na] aster die
8	Maaker	Skepper
9	Werlt	Werld

Table 1: Replacements in *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (326)

The change of the universal Virgin Islands Dutch Creole preposition *na* into *in* and *van* looks like a change towards standard Dutch. The orthography of the word *Werlt* 'world' is based far more on pronunciation than *Werld*. In the latter word the <d> is pronounced as /t/, but is spelled as <d> since the orthography of the plural is *Werelden* in Dutch.

However, some of the above mentioned changes are necessary to make the text more similar to the vernacular. As shown in (3), a classical genitive (*Mose*) was changed into a analytic possessive construction (*van Moses*); in (4) the word order was changed from an SOV-order into the mandatory SVO-order, in (5) a gender

neutral form *helpmaat* ‘mate who helps’ instead of *helpine* ‘help.FEM’. In (6) an indirect object is added, which clarifies the sentence.

The following is an interesting manipulation:

<ol.[-na]> [-op] <ol.aster>.

Initially the construction:

*niet lang **op** die, a ka word ongehoorsam na si Maaker*

was changed into:

*niet lang **na aster** die, a ka word ongehoorsam na si Skepper.*

However, the word *na* which was added, was erased again later on:

*niet lang **aster** die, a ka word ongehoorsam na si Skepper.*

It is interesting that prepositions/adverbs which are preceded with *na* or even with prefix *na* to indicate a location. In this sentence *aster* indicates a chronological order and should not be preceded by *na* (Hesseling 1905: 113).

We can assume that the edited version is considered better and closer to Creole by the missionaries, since it is edited by Auerbach. The changes are therefore of importance, since these are considered to connect better to the auditors. A first look at the possible sources presents an interesting insight: it looks as if Böhner’s translation was based on the German, while Auerbach seems to have used the English translation of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*:

The German original (edition 1778/1789):

Gleich im Anfang der Bücher Moses lesen wir, dass Gott den ersten Menschen Adam nach seinem Bilde erschaffen habe; dass aber dieser mit seinem Weibe Eva, die ihm zur Gehülfin gegeben worden, nicht lange darauf seinem Schöpfer ungehorsam worden sey, und die Sünde in die Welt gebracht habe.

The English translation of 1779/1784 contains the following text:

In the first chapters of the books of Moses we read, that God created the first man, Adam, after his own image; but that he, with Eve his wife, who was given him for a helpmate, proved disobedient to his Creator, and brought sin into the world.

A test in variants presents a remarkable conclusion:

	Originally...	German original (1778/1789)	Changed into...	English translation (1779/1784)
1	Glik	Gleich	Straks	-
2	Na die begin	im Anfang	In die eerste Capittels	In the first Chapters
3	Na die boeken Mose	Der Bücher Mosis	Van die Boeken van Moses	Of the books of Moses
4	Godt die eerste Mensch Adam na si Beeld a ka maak	Godt den ersten Menschen Adam nach seinem Bilde erschaffen habe	Godt ka maak die eerste Mensch Adam na si *eigen* Beeld	God created the first man, Adam after his own image;
5	Helpine	Gehülfin	Helpmaat	helpmate
8	Maaker	Schöpfer	Skepper	Creator
9	Werlt	Welt	Werld	world

Table 2: Replacements in Idea Fidei Fratrum (326) compared to German and English

In the uncorrected text, the German original is clearly present; however, in the corrected version, in which several deletions and additions have been made, the English translation is unmistakably recognizable. I think that even the change in spelling from the *werlt* into *werld* is due to the orthography of German *welt* and of English *world*.

The densely edited part of section 1 of ms. 326 is only the first part of this section of the Idea Fidei Fratrum. Comparison of the rest of this section to the possible source texts shows that the influence of an English translation is absent, while some sentences look like a word for word translation from German into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole:

- VIDC. die Beeld Godts a wees alsoo bij sender verloor.
 G. das Bild Gottes war also bey ihnen verloren.
 (Spangenberg 1778/1789)
 E. and, thus lost the image of God.
 (Spangenberg 1779/1784)

Two questions arise:

1. Did the commentator of the above mentioned translation of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Idea Fidei Fratrum (326), Auerbach, use the English translation of this text? In this case, the use of the words can be explained, but then the question of why he did not continue to use it in the rest of the section remains.

2. Why was an English based translation considered better than the German based one? Did this English based translation resemble spoken Virgin Islands Dutch Creole better? Why didn't he continue to use the English related language in the rest of the manuscript? In the following paragraphs I will go into these questions.

The handwriting of manuscript 3231, an incomplete Gospel Harmony, is probably also that of Johann Christian Auerbach.⁶ This manuscript also shows much more English influence than the other Gospel Harmonies. This is another indication that it was Auerbach who started to improve the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, but stopped after this short part of the section. Looking at the handwriting, all of the changes in the rest of the manuscript of *Idea Fidei Fratrum* are undoubtedly made by Böhner.

Several sources, historical as well as linguistic, point to the replacement of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole by English or English Creole which started at the end of the eighteenth century and which was probably completed between 1842-1847. In that year, the Moravian Brother Wied wrote on the front page of his catechism: "In the 40s of the 19th century the Creole language disappeared on the West-Indian Islands and was superseded by the English one."⁷

The improvement of the Creole text by using an English source text was made as a way to connect better to the auditors in a community in which English was becoming more important. In the following sections I will discuss two types of replacements. I will go into the various examples of these replacements to separate the correction of mistakes from the changes towards the audience. Since the above mentioned example points towards an English influenced variant of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, I will focus on the replacements which seem to indicate a change from a German to an English source text, or at least to a growing need for the translators to use items related to English in their texts.

10.3 Method

10.3.1 *Improving the language variety by replacement*

In chapter 8 and 9 I focused on the vertical presentation of alternatives and the word order change by using numbers. Less complex, and more common than the other emendations, are the deletions. In the entire corpus we have 1410 deletions which are not combined with a visible addition or another change. In several cases, these changes were made to remove an obvious mistake (see chapter 7). Nevertheless, the motivation behind several single deletions, without other related textual emendations, remains unclear in many cases.

Since the translator's considerations for changes should be studied in order to sketch his opinion about the best connection to his audience, I focus, as noted before, on two types of replacements:

⁶ Van Rossem (2014, April 25)

⁷ "In den 40er Jahren des 19. Jahrh. verschwand auf den Westindischen Inseln die kreolische Sprache und wurde durch die englische verdrängt."

1. **Replacement by overwriting:** the translator deliberately writes the new elements across an earlier written element, without crossing out the element which was written first. These cases are marked in the corpus as following: [a+], b was written over a. The cases can be found by searching the Clarin-NEHOL database for the combination '+]'. See section 10.4.2.
2. **Replacement by glossing:** an element is crossed out and a correction is added. These cases can be found in Clarin-NEHOL most of the time by searching for ']'<', ']'<. It is also possible that the editor places the annotation before the deletion. It is therefore not easy to find all of these cases. In Clarin-NEHOL the position of the gloss can still be found through the encoding which is added to all additions (see chapter 0. *Abbreviations and symbols*). The change is made after the writing process itself, during an editing process. See section 10.4.3.

The Clarin-NEHOL database includes four Gospel Harmonies, 321, 322, 3231 and 3232, of which the first 35 sections can be compared because of the shared German source from which they were translated, Lieberkühn (1769/1820) (see chapter 11). In order to limit the search, I used these excerpts from the manuscripts. In total, these sections show 271 deletions (321: 85, 322: 126, 3231: 38 and 3232: 22). 38 of the 271 deletions are replacements in which a character or complete word was overwritten by another one. In 67 of the 271 cases, the deletion is accompanied by an addition, which is related to the deletion.⁸ These relations vary from additions of another character instead of the deleted one, to changes of word order. In all other 166 cases the deletion stands alone.

The use of variants of these manuscripts is also useful because of the fact that it gives the possibility of seeing which element was used in the newest version. The translations for which only one version was preserved can also be interesting. Even when comparison is not possible, the thoughts and opinions of the translator are sometimes transparent and can be related to audience design.

The texts which were originally written in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole also often show emendations which are not only due to correction of obvious clerical errors. The effort of the author to connect to his audience is visible and the changes which were made are as interesting as the ones in the translations. I only used the numbers of changes and some examples to illustrate my findings.

10.4 Results

10.4.1 Numbers and percentages

The most important aim of my study is to determine whether replacements in these Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts can indicate whether the translator tried to use the informal, spoken, variety of the Creole language.

To study the linguistic implications of replacements, the obvious mistakes in the process of writing must be separated from the changes made to the texts which were probably consciously made by the translator to represent the Creole language as

⁸ Additions which are not related do appear in all texts, but are not included in the following tables.

precisely as possible.⁹ For this purpose, all deletions in the manuscripts are divided into the ones made to correct mistakes and the ones that are used to manipulate the original text, here termed manipulations.

In order to separate the correction of mistakes from the manipulations, the replacements were related to possible mistakes during the writing process (see chapter 7). In all steps of this process mistakes can be made; in the step of reflection, however, the translator has the possibility of manipulating the language of the manuscript.

In the texts which were studied in the most detail,¹⁰ a large number of manipulations has been effected by the translator. Of the 271 deletions analyzed, at least 86 were used to manipulate the language of the document. These manipulations can be divided in several categories, listed in the following paragraphs.

Another general result of my research is the insight that a quantitative approach to the data clearly needs to be complemented with a qualitative one. Every token of a deletion had to be looked at individually but also as part of a larger set. In this section I will first present the quantitative results. In a separate section I will present a qualitative analysis.

Deletions appear in almost all eighteenth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole manuscripts. In the 40 files incorporated in the *Missionary Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Data* section of Clarin-NEHOL, only nine texts have no deletions. Of the remaining 31 files, only two are printed. The printed works that we entered into our database contained respectively one (Psalmbook 1770, *Creool Psalm-buk* (...) *Westindien* 1770) and five deletions (Praetorius 1823, *Creol Psalm-Buk* (...) *Creol-Sprack* 1823), which were possibly contemporary with their publication.¹¹ All other 29 texts are manuscripts.

The average number of deletions in the 31 texts mentioned before is 69.2 per text. Since the length of the incorporated texts ranges from 1,662 characters (423 words) to 106,261 characters (26,988 words), I chose to mention the percentages to indicate the number of deletions. The average percentage of deletions per character is .0016 and per word is .007. Since the average length of the words differs from one text to another, I chose to use both percentages.

The texts with the lowest number of deletions are the above mentioned printed works: their percentage of deletions per character/word is .00005. The manuscript with the lowest percentage of deletions is Gospel Harmony 3232, which has .0003 per character, .0013 per word. The highest numbers of deletions can be found in the Creole sermons of 1796 (3315a) with .016 deletions per character, .072 deletions per word.

The oldest texts with deletions are from the middle of the eighteenth century (1754, 1755), the newest is from 1823. There is no indication of a relation between a specific period and the number of deletions made.

⁹ In my discussion section I will explore which language was actually the target language of the translator. Earlier publications and metalinguistic evidence suggest that it is the language of the enslaved people, with a large amount of missionary jargon.

¹⁰ The first 35 sections of the Gospel Harmony of Lieberkühn, translated into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, in Clarin-NEHOL coded as 321a, 322a1 and 322a2, 3231a and 3232a.

¹¹ It is unclear who edited the copies of the printed works in our Clarin-NEHOL corpus.

Three of the texts studied, 321, 322 and 325, consist of different parts which are fairly equal in length (average 19,686.5 words). The average number of deletions is 84.7 (.0011 per character, .0046 per word). The parts of these texts which differ considerably from others in this respect, are the first part of Gospel Harmony 322, with 0.015 per token, 0.064 per word. The last part of Gospel Harmony 321 contains 0.024 deletions per token and 0.095 per word, which is the highest score with respect to these texts. This suggests the idea that the translator, Johann Böhner, was critically focusing on correct language use in these parts, which makes these parts interesting for follow up research. The text in which the translator made the most overwrites is 321. In other texts: 322 and 325, Böhner more often changed the elements by crossing them out and presenting the alternative in a gloss around the line or in one of the margins. In section 10.6 the numbers and percentages of all replacements are included in Table 3.

10.4.2 Replacement by overwriting

In Clarin-NEHOL we find 228 cases in which an element is overwritten by another one. It is, of course possible that this was done to correct a clerical error; however the following examples will show why these changes can also be of linguistic importance. In ms. 321: 34, we see the following correction:

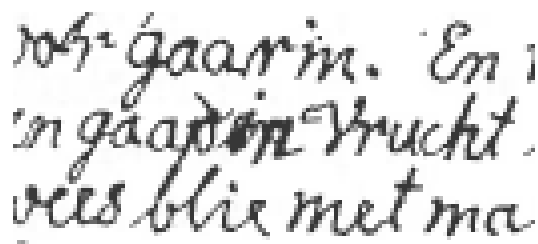


Figure 1: Replacement (321: 34)

In Clarin-NEHOL this item is encoded as follows:

(1a) *gaa[der+]<r in> Vrucht*

The original word group was:

(1b) *gaader Vrucht*
collect fruit

It is changed into:¹²

(1c) *gaar in Vrucht*
collect in fruit

¹² The overwritten tokens are recognizable by the use of bolder ink.

In Dutch the verb *gaderen* ‘to collect’ is also used as *garen* (WNT, s.v. GAREN (III)). The form into which *gaader* is changed, *gaar in*, also exists with the same meaning (WNT, s.v. INGADEREN). The German source text (Lieberkühn 1769/1820) uses *sammelt* and not a homonymous or homophonous word.

The other variants of the Gospel Harmony, in chronological order, use:

- 322: *ver gaader Vrucht*
- 3231: *gaa'r inn Vrucht*
- 3232: *gaar Vruchten in*
- 3110: *gaar Vruchten in*

Magens’ New Testament (1781), which was written from the perspective of a Danish translator, presents the following variant:

- 315: *vergaeder Vrygt*

From these data we may conclude:

- a. The variant (*ver*)*gaader* is the oldest.
- b. The preposition *in* was originally placed directly after *gaar*, as one would expect in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In twentieth-century compound verbs the preposition has changed into a suffix-like part of the verb. See *dinkop* ‘think (about)’ > Du. *denk op*,¹³ *stekui* ‘put away’ > Du. *steek weg*, (See 9.5.3, Hesseling 1905: 119).
- c. The newest texts, which are closely related,¹⁴ present a Dutch-like split of preposition and verb.¹⁵

Missionary translators of 321 and 3231 considered un-split *gaar in* better. The first reason could be that *gaar in* was the form used by the auditors and approved of by addressees, the Christianized slaves. The second reason could be that *vergaader* also had another meaning, namely ‘to come together’ for instance in a service, and that the audience prefers unambiguous words. It seems unlikely to me that *gaader in* is missionary jargon.

Magens’ use of *vergaeder* is another example that his, Danish, variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole looks similar to the early translations of the Moravian Brethren.

The following example is from ms. 3311: 20, which is not dated, however, was found among texts from 1740, 1767 and 1796/1797.

¹³ See WNT s.v. DENKEN, A, 4. Denken op. According to *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* was only regionally used in northern Netherlands. This could indicate a Caribbean variety of the verb with fixed preposition.

¹⁴ Other comparisons show that the incomplete Gospel Harmony 3232 hardly differs from the complete printed version from 1833 (3110).

¹⁵ Comparison of several sections of Gospel Harmonies and chapters from the New Testament show that the early texts 321, 322 and 315 look more or less alike. Incomplete manuscript 3232 resembles the printed version 3110. Manuscript 3231, which was possibly translated from Böhners manuscript by Auerbach, shows several elements which suggest the influence of English, or of the English translation of Lieberkühn (1771).

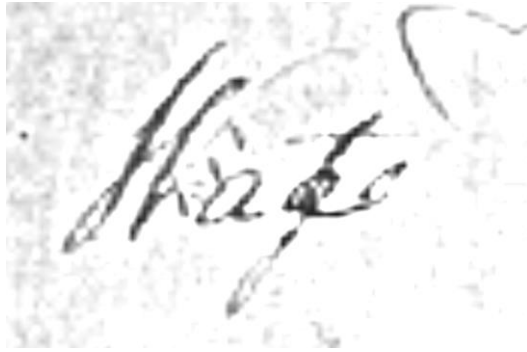


Figure 2: Manuscript 3311: 20

our diplomatic edition	original text	corrected into
Wa[go+]<t>	Wago	Wat
	What	What

This example shows that the, probably incomplete, basilectal, Creole variant *Wago* (for *wagoed* ‘what’ < WH + *goed* ‘matter’) is replaced by the acrolectal Dutch form *Wat* ‘what’. The word *wagoed* (or shortened variants like *wagoe* and *wago*) appears in several eighteenth-century texts, however a comparison of the four manuscripts of the Gospel Harmony shows a growing preference for *wat*, at the expense of *wagoed*. The relatively frequent use of *wagoed* in the Gospel Harmony,¹⁶ which was translated and improved by Auberbach, is remarkable and a puzzle to us. The transparent construction of Question particle (WH) + questioned semantic unit (indicator) is common in Creole languages (Muysken & Smith 1990: 884, 886). For instance in Sranan we see *o-ten* ‘when’ (< WH + *ten* ‘time’) and *o sani* ‘what’ (<wh + *sani* ‘thing, good’). The word *wagoed* is constructed as wh+indicator, however in twentieth-century sources of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole neither this word, nor variants, are present in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 105-106). Sabino (2012: 289) refers to Adams Graves *wagoed*. In Oldendorp (1768: nr. 3027)¹⁷ G. was is translated into both *wagoed* and *wat*. Comparable question words which appear in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole also show synonyms without an indicator are:¹⁸

¹⁶ Occurrences of *wagoed* ‘what’: 321 (10), 322 (3), 3231(34) and 3232 (0).

¹⁷ Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 141)

¹⁸ See also Bakker (2014: 194, 2017: 222, table 10.1).

	<i>Oldendorp 1768</i>	<i>Appearance in Gospel Harmonies section 1-35¹⁹</i>	<i>De Josselin de Jong (1926: 71, 106)</i>	<i>Sabino (2012: 237, 289)</i>
When	Wanneer 'when' wattied ²⁰ 'WH + time'.	321 wanneer 13, WH+time 0 322 wanneer 14, WH+time 0 3231 wanneer 10, WH+time 1 3232 wanneer 12, WH+time 1	Wanə, wenə, weni, wen	wənɛ, wənɛ, wɛni, wɛnɔ, wɛn, wɛni, wɛni, wɛn, wani, wanɔ, wanneer
Where	Waar 'where' <ol.na> wat Plek '<NA> WH + place'	321 na waar 4, waar 19 322 na waar 2, waar 18 3231 na waar 11, waar 9, wat plek ²¹ 1 3232 na waar 4, waar 17.	Wapiši, wepiši (conj.) apē, api (adv. and conj.), wat plek ²²	apɛ, api, apɛ, abɛ, ɛpɛ, upɛ, wapɛ, wapi, wa ²³

The number of appearances in the improved version of the Gospel Harmony by Auerbach and the basilectal form WH+indicator, are an indication for auditor design. However, the lack of appearances of *wagoed* 'WH+good' or variants of this word in twentieth-century sources in comparison to WH+time and WH+place may indicate that the use of single *wat* 'what' (like in Dutch) is clear enough without an indicator. Note that the system of question words in Berbice Dutch also has the mixed system of both Dutch derived question words and transparent questions words (WH+indicator) (Muysken & Smith 1990: 892). Since the transparent system of WH+indicator can be related to substrate influence, the use of Dutch derived question words can be due to influence of the Dutch vernacular or lingua franca on the Danish Antilles until the second half of the eighteenth century.

In 10.6 the frequency of replacements made by overwriting and by erasing is mentioned. Replacement by overwriting occurs 229 times, while replacement by

¹⁹ My focus was on the differences in number between the variants. Not all appearances are studied closely.

²⁰ It is remarkable that this item was added as a gloss above the line of the entrance wenn in the manuscript of Oldendorp (1768). *Wattied* is only mentioned in relation to questions.

²¹ The only appearance in 3231 of WH+place is in a glos: 'na waar <ol.wat plek>' (3231: 7).

²² De Josselin de Jong (1926: 71) adds that *wat plek* is an older form which is mentioned in the Moravian Grammar.

²³ Sabino (2012: 237) notes: 'Although Mrs. Stevens uses *api*, she correct me saying "{not} *api*, *apɛ*.'"

crossing out occurs 383 times in the entire Clarin-NEHOL corpus. Gospel Harmony manuscript 321 shows the most replacements made by overwriting, 106 cases in a text of 110,163 words. In the original text 3315a, which is without a doubt the most corrected one in our corpus, shows most of that the replacements were made by crossing out, 91 cases in a text of 26,988 words. The four translations of the Gospel Harmony contain 70% percent of all replacements by overwriting (160 of 229).

A look at the 69 tokens in the other Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts reveals the following categories among the replacements by overwriting:

1. Lowercase/uppercase
 - a. [E+]<e>
 - i. *En* was changed into *en* by replacing an uppercase letter with a lowercase one.
 - b. *[a+]<A>/[A+]<a>*lles ‘everything’
 - i. *Alles* is changed into *alles*, or *alles* was changed into *Alles*.
2. Influence of German
 - a. Untersch[ei+]<ie>d ‘difference’
 - i. The German word *Unterschied* ‘difference’ was erroneously spelled with *ei*, which looks like Dutch *onderscheid*. See chapter 8 *The writing process* about contamination of German, the language of the source and the native language of the translator.
 - b. a[ü+]<u>ch ‘also’
 - i. The umlaut above the *u* was crossed out.
3. Orthography/pronunciation
 - a. mordnaaragt[e+]<i>g ‘like a murderer’
 - i. The suffix *-ig* is spelled in Dutch as *-ig*, but often pronounced as /əx/. As in other words this sound was often spelled as *e*.
 - b. Smarag[t+]<d>us ‘emerald’
 - i. The German source shows <d>, just like Dutch. The pronunciation of the <d> on the word end is without voice, /t/. Etymological spelling was chosen instead of pronunciational spelling.
 - c. mi po[w+]<v> Herte ‘my poor heart’
 - i. The use of <v>/<w> for /v/ can both be found in several texts by Danish translators, like Magens (1781). In the texts of the Moravian Brethren, however we only find *pover*. The only two cases in which a <w> was used, it was overwritten or replaced by a version with <v>. The most complex replacement can be found in 334: *mi* [-*power*] [-<ol.*pouwer*>] <ol.pover> *Hert* ‘my poor heart’. First the word *power* was erased, then **pouwer** was added, however also erased afterwards. Finally *pover* was added.

- d. W[a+]<aa>ter ‘water’
 - i. <a> was overwritten by <aa>, probably to indicate the long vowel /a:/.
- e. ho[c+]<g>he ‘high’
 - i. <ch> /x/ was changed into <gh>.
- 4. Clerical errors
 - a. mi be[m+]<n> em ‘I am’
 - i. *bem* was written under the influence of *em*. Corrected into *ben* ‘to be’.
 - b. e[e+]<l>keen ‘everyone’
 - i. *eekeen* is changed into *elkeen* ‘everyone’.
 - ii. The dot on the i is visible, but it is unclear which word(part) was meant.
- 5. Process of writing
 - a. sende[n+]<r> ‘they’
 - i. The first syllable ending on <en> triggered the second <en>, which had to be changed into <er>.
 - b. Trinitat[a+]<i>s ‘Trinity Sunday’
 - i. The third syllable <ta> triggered the second <ta>, which had to be changed into <ti>.
 - c. sender se[-nder+]<lv> ‘them selves’
 - i. The preceding word *sender* triggered the second *sender*, which had to be changed into *selv*.
 - d. Ga[r+]<d>arenen ‘Gerasens’
 - i. Syllable <ar> in source, triggered <ar> in the first syllable, which had to be changed into <ad>.
- 6. Change of word/reference
 - a. d[at+]<ie>, (321:25) ‘that’
 - i. In Lieberkühn (1769/1820: 56) *das thut ihr ihnen* ‘lit. that do they (to) them)’. The position of this object was changed by a number above it (see chapter 10). *dat<ol.3> doe<ol.2> jender<ol.1> na<ol.4> sender* ‘that do 2PL NA 3PL’ became *jender doe die na sender*. ‘2PL do this NA 3PL’.
 - b. die [Em+]<God> a maak ‘who [3SG]<God> PST make’.
 - i. The pronoun was overwritten with the noun which it represents, which clarifies the text for the auditors.
 - c. [s+]<j>ender
 - i. The pronoun for 3PL was changed into the pronoun for 2PL.
- 7. Creole/vernacular
 - a. goe[d+]<j>e Vrugten ‘good fruit’
 - i. The word *goede* was changed into *goeje*, which is closer to Dutch vernacular. In twentieth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole ‘good’ is represented by *frai* (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 81, Sabino 2012: 253).

8. Synonym

- a. [-Ver][t+]<T>wiefel. ‘despair, doubt’
 - i. First *Vertwiefel* ‘despair’ (>D. *vertwijfeling*) was written down. Then *Ver* was erased and the lowercase <t> was overwritten by an uppercase <T> to create *Twiefel* ‘doubt’ (>D. *twijfel*). I consider this to be as a simplification of a Dutch-like word into a Creole form toward the Creole speaking auditors.

9. Unclear

- a. O[*go*+]<og>o ‘eye’
 - i. The letters between asterisks are unclear. It is likely that *Ogo* was changed into *Oogo*.
- b. [*i*+]<Voo>rdaarom ‘therefore’
 - i. It is unclear which was meant with the overwritten word part.

10.4.3 Replacement by glossing

While the replacements by overwriting seem to be quick changes of small items, replacements by glossing can be much longer and more fundamental.

1. Adjectives

- a. ses [-steen] Water Potten <van Steen> (322: 15) ‘six [-stone] water pots <of stone>’
 - i. Ms. 321/3231/3232 have: *van Steen* ‘of stone’. G: *Steinerne Wassergefässe*, E: *water-pots of stone*. Prenominal adjective was replaced.

2. Adverbs

- a. a wees <na> daa<r>[-soo] (322: 15) ‘were <NA> there [-so]’
 - i. Ms. 321/3231/3232 have *a wees daar* ‘were there’. Adverb with suffix –so (Van Rossem 1996) was changed into adverb with NA.

3. Lexicon: synonyms

- a. [-Tobo] <meet> (322: 15) ‘bucket <bushel, bucket>’
 - i. Ms. 321 *tobo*, 3231 *Tobbo*. <met reten.>, 3232 *Maat*, G. *Maass*, E. *firkins apiece*. Creole word (>D. *tobbe* ‘tub’, epenthetic vowels) was replaced by Dutch-like *meet* (>D. *maat* ‘bushel, bucket to measure’). The Creole word *tobo*²⁴ ‘bucket’ was replaced by the Dutch word *meet* ‘barrel, bucket’. In 3231 Creole *tobbo* is used again, but accompanied by the synonym *met reten*, which is a measure of capacity which is hardly used outside biblical jargon. However, in the last manuscript version, 3232,

²⁴ Etymology of *tobo* is probably Dutch *tobbe* ‘tub’, which is larger than an ordinary bucket.

- the Dutch word *maat*, which resembles German *Maass*²⁵ closely, is used again.
- b. [-see] <praat> (3231: 26) ‘[-say] <speak>’
 - i. Ms. 321/322/3232 have *see*.
 4. Lexicon: conjunction
 - a. salv joe Hooft [-met] en wasch joe Angesicht (322: 25) ‘annoint your head and wash your face’
 - i. Absent in 321, ms. 3231 and 3232 have *en* ‘and’ instead of *met* ‘with’.
 5. Lexicon: prepositions
 - a. [-tot]<na> (321: 19) ‘[-to]<NA>’
 - i. All other texts have *na* ‘NA’.
 6. Lexicon: pronouns
 - a. En [-sellie]<[-nder]> allmaal (322: 9) ‘and [-3PL]<[-3PL]> all’
 - i. Ms. 321 and 3231 have *en allemaal* ‘and all’ and 3232 has *en sender allemaal* ‘and 3PL all’.
 7. Lexicon: transitive/intransitive verbs
 - a. ben [-joe] vergeven (3231: 31) ‘BE [-2SG] forgiven’
 - i. Ms. 321/322 have *ben joe vergeven*, 3232 *ben vergeven na joe*. G: *sind dir vergeben*, E: *are forgiven thee*.
 8. Lexicon: auxiliary verbs
 - a. no [-ben]<ka> dood (321: 34) ‘NEG [-BE] <PRF> dead/die’
 - i. Ms. 322/3231 *no ka dood* ‘NEG PRF die’, 3232 *no ben dood* ‘NEG BE dead’.
 - b. en moeschi sal [-wees] kom bli (3232: 3) ‘and much FUT [-BE] come happy’
 - i. Ms. 321 *sal ver[b]lie* ‘FUT rejoice’, 322 *sal kom bli* ‘FUT come happy’, 3231 *sal wees bli* ‘FUT BE happy’.
 9. Syntax: TMA-markers
 - a. em a [-ka] sal ka kik (321: 8) ‘3SG PST [-PRF] FUT PRF look’
 - i. Ms. 322 *em sall kik* ‘3SG FUT look’, 3231 *em ka kik* ‘3SG PRF look’, 3232 *em a ka kik* ‘3SG PST PRF look’.
 - b. no [-a] befeel (322: 31) ‘NEG PST command’
 - i. Ms. 321: no commandeer ‘NEG command’, 3231: no sal gie Order na ‘NEG FUT give command NA’, 3232: no a sal commandeer ‘NEG PST FUT command’. G. nicht gebieten, E: would not command.
 10. Syntax: SVO-order
 - a. Hoe [-kan] <soo> die Bruilofd Volk kan fast (322: 33) ‘How [-can] <so> the wedding people can fast’
 - i. All other Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translations have SVO-order: Ms. 321 Hoesoo die Briu-lofd Volk kan bliev sonder jet, 3231 Hoesoo die Bruilofd-Kinders kan vast,

²⁵ A more common spelling is *Mass* (see: Joh. 2: 6. in for instance Luther (1912) on www.bibel-online.net).

3232 Hoesoo die Kinders van die Bruid-Kamer kan dan vast.

- b. [-J]will joe kom gesond? (321: 21) ‘[-2SG] will 2SG get healthy?’
 - i. I suppose the author started to write Joe, according to Creole SVO-order, but then followed the German source text: *Willt du gesund werden?* (Lieberkühn 1769/1820: 38). Ms. 322/3231/3232 have Joe will ‘2SG will’.

10.4.4 The use of German- and English-related words or translations

It is not only replacements in the first part of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (326, see 10.2) that show that the German source was likely to have been replaced by an English one. While comparing the deletions in the first 35 sections of the Gospel Harmonies 321, 322, 3231 and 3232, some changes appeared to be related to the use of the source. The source of the oldest Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmonies 321 and 322 is, without a doubt, the German original by Lieberkühn (1769/1820). In the two Gospel Harmonies from the 1790s, 3231 and 3232, several variants indicate the use of the English translation of Lieberkühn’s Gospel Harmony (1771).

This observation does have some consequences for the study of audience design. In the first place, there are the changes according to the German source text (Lieberkühn 1769/1820). As shown in other chapters in part III of my dissertation, the use of this source text points towards referee design. Changes show an educational intention, in the case of the use of lexical missionary jargon or a close relation to the German source text in the case of fixed constructions.

The changes which I assume were made due to the influence of the possible English source text are of interest for several reasons. On the one hand, choosing a source text in another language is an indication of the growing importance of this language among the audience. On the other hand, the use of English may suggest linguistic similarities between Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and English, which are much less present in German. Several changes with regard to references or explanations of Christian jargon can be related to both the English and the German source texts and can therefore be considered referee design. However, I consider the fact that the translators started to use a source text in another language to be due to auditor design. The following examples will hopefully support this.

In 31 of the 271 replacements in the sections 1-35 of the Gospel Harmony manuscripts, the emendations seem to be related to a source text. In 9 of these cases the influence of the German source text is obvious. The underscored words seem to be related to the German source, bold words seem to be related to the English source.

Examples of replacements related to German or English source text

The following examples show remarkable similarity to one of the two possible source texts. Influence of the German source is underlined; influence of the English source is printed in bold. The constructions from the source texts and the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole variants are placed next to each other for comparison.

Homophonous resemblance

- (2) 321:18 [-ben] verblie em hoog
 G: freuet sich hoch
 E: rejoiceth greatly
 322: verblie si goe
 3231: ben goe moeschi bli
 3232: kom goe moeschi bli

The word *hoog* /ho:x/ ‘high, very’ is almost homophonous with *hoch* /hOx/. The use of a reflexive pronoun in 321 (*em*) and 322 (*si*), like in German (*sich*) is also noteworthy.

- (3) 321: 18 Toorn [-of:Quaat]
 G: Zorn
 E: wrath
 322: Toor<n> <Quaat>
 3231 Verdoemnis-Oordeel
 3232 Toorn

In 322 *Quaat* is added as a synonym. Text 3231 is the only one which does not have the German or English variant, but uses a description.

In the following examples the diplomatic symbols were only the trigger for further examination. The influence of the source text was found in variants of the text.

- (4) 321: 27 onde[-n]< r>daanig
 G: unterthan
 E: under authority
 322: onderdaan
 3231: onderdaanig
 3232: onderdaanig
- (5) 322: 35 da Em a [-s]tek na sender Oogo
 G: Da rührete Er ihre Augen
 E: Then touched he their eyes
 321: Da Em a tek aan sender Oogo
 3231: Da Em a roer sender Oogo aan
 3232: Da Em a roer sender Oogen aan
- (6) 321: 27 praa<t>[-p]
 G: sprach
 E: **said**
 322: praat
 3231: **see**
 3232: spreek

Lexical similarities

- (7) 322: 33 Hoesoo die Briulofd Volk kan bliev sonder jet
 G: Wie können die Hochzeitleute fasten
 E: Can ye make the **children** of the *bride-chamber* fast
 321: Hoesoo die Briulofd Volk kan bliev sonder jet
 3231: Hoesoo die Bruilofd-**Kinders** kan vast
 3232: Hoesoo die **Kinders** van die *Bruid-Kamer* kan dan vast

In this case, as well as a German source, an English source can be lexically detected in the use of *Kinders* ‘children’ and *Kamer* ‘chamber’.

- (8) 3231: 25 [-**trouw**] <vrie> [-met]
 G: wer eine Abgescheidete freyet
 E: whosoever shall **marry** her
 321: wie neem soo een
 322: wee neem een
 3232: wie vrie soo een
- (9) 3231: 25 [-**voedt**] <gie doch Jeet na> dieselvde [-doch]
 G: nähret sie doch
 E: **feedeth** them
 321: gie doch Nahring na sender
 322: doch gie naaring na sender
 3232: gie doch Naaring na sender
- (10) 3231: 25 [-**voedt**] <gie doch Jeet na> dieselvde [-doch]
 G: nähret sie doch
 E: **feedeth** them
 321: gie doch Nahring na sender
 322: doch gie naaring na sender
 3232: gie doch Naaring na sender
- (11) 3232: 25 **moeschi** [-meer] **beeter**
 G: vielmehr
 E: **much better**
 321: veel meer
 322: veel meer
 3231: veel **beeter**
- (12) 321: 14 welk[-s] ben overgeset na ons taal, die Gesalvde
 G: welches ist verdolmetschet, der Gesalbte;
 E: which is, being interpreted, the **Christ** <**or**, the anointed>...
 322 <die gesalvde.> die ben **Christus** na ons Tael
 3231 welk ben na een ander Taal, (**:Christus:**) **of**, die Gesalvde
 3232 welk ben in Oversetting, die Gesalvde

Similarities in word class

- (13) 321: 34 no [-ben]<ka> **dood**
 G: ist nicht gestorben
 E: **is not dead** ‘is not dead’
 322: no ka dood ‘NEG PRF die’

3231: no ka dood 'NEG PRF die'

3232: no **ben dood** 'is not dead'

When auxiliary ben 'to be' is used, dood is an adjective. When TMA-marker *ka* 'PRF' is used, *dood* is a verb. In 321 a change of word class is present.

Similar constructions

- (14) 322: 23 vaar waar die W[a+]<aa>ter ben diep
 G: Fahre auf die Höhe
 E: **Launch out into the deep**
 321: vaar waar die Water ben diep
 3231: **Stek af na die Diepte**
 3232: Vaar ut, waar die Water ben diep
- (15) 322: 15 a[s+]<l>s dan
 G: alsdan
 E: **then that**
 321: als dan
 3231: **dan** em gie **die**
 3232: **dan die**
- (16) 3231: 25 **[-Da no] <Ben> jender** <dan> [-ben] <niet>
 G: Seyd ihr dann nicht vielmehr dann sie
 E: **Are not ye** much better than they
 321: Ben jender dann niet veel meer as sender
 322: Ben jender dan niet veel meer as sender
 3232: Jender ben dan niet moeschi [-meer] beeter as sender?
 (as if English was replaced by German/older texts)
- (17) 3231: 13 **a wees [-en] <en a> doop**
 G: taufete
 E: **was baptizing**
 321: a doop
 322: a doop
 3232: **a wees, en a doop**
 This looks like a serial verb construction *a wees en a doop* 'PST BE and PST baptize' for 'was baptizing'.
- (18) 3231: 32 ben [-joe] vergeven
 G: deine Sünden sind dir vergeben
 E: thy sins are forgiven **thee**
 321: ben joe vergeeven
 322: ben joe vergeeven
 3232: ben vergeven **na joe**
- (19) 3232: 25 jender Hert <sal wees> [-ben] **ookal**.
 G: da ist auch euer Herz
 E: there will your heart be **also**
 321: nadaar ben ook jender Hert
 322: da jender Hert ook ben
 3231: daar jender Hert sal wees **ookal**
 Adverb *ookal* is alike E. *also* placed at end of the sentence.

#Corpus	NEHOL- code	Date (approx.)	Overwriting (abs.)	Overwriting (%)	Glossing (abs.)	Glossing (%)	Total replacements
2	333	1754	0		0		0
3	334	1755	1	50.0	1	50.0	2
5	3317	1767	1	25.0	3	75.0	4
8	psbuk70	1770	0		0		0
10	321a	>1780	21	47.7	23	52.3	44
11	321b	>1780	23	92.0	2	8.0	25
12	321c	>1780	23	56.1	18	43.9	41
13	321d	>1780	23	85.2	4	14.8	27
14	321e	>1780	16	72.7	6	27.3	22
15	321z	>1780	0		1	100.0	1
16	322a1	1780	14	42.4	19	57.6	33
17	322a2	1780	12	32.4	25	67.6	37
18	322b	1780	8	34.8	15	65.2	23
19	322c	1780	6	33.3	12	66.7	18
20	322d	1780	2	14.3	12	85.7	14
21	322e	1780	4	20.0	16	80.0	20
22	324OP	1780	5	45.5	6	54.5	11
24	325a	1780	8	36.4	14	63.6	22
25	325b	1780	8	34.8	15	65.2	23
26	325c	1780	2	7.7	24	92.3	26
27	325d	1780	10	34.5	19	65.5	29
28	325e	1780	5	33.3	10	66.7	15
29	325f	1780	2	25.0	6	75.0	8
30	326a	1780	3	27.3	8	72.7	11
31	3231a	1790	4	19.0	17	81.0	21
32	3232a	1790	4	80.0	1	20.0	5
33	3313	1795	6	50.0	6	50.0	12
34	3315a	1796	5	5.2	91	94.8	96
35	3315b	1797	5	55.6	4	44.4	9
38	praet23	1823	0	0.0	5	100.0	5
40	3311	Unkn.	7	87.5	1	12.5	8
			228	37.3	384	62.7	612

Table 3: Replacements by overwriting and by glossing in Clarin-NEHOL Corpus

10.5 Overview and discussion

In the table 3 all replacements are included. The frequency is not only presented in numbers, but also in percentages, since the length of the texts in our corpus differs vastly. Percentages above 50% are presented in bold, and those above 75% are shaded and bold.

This table shows that most of the overwrites can be found in the earliest translation of the Gospel Harmony (321). The second translation, 322, contains more glosses. I assume that this number of replacements is an indication of the editor/translator's critical view on how best to connect to the audience. The translation of the Old Testament (325) is by the same translator and shows a similar situation.

Text 3315a is not a translation but it does contain a lot of replacements by glossing. A closer look at this text may give an insight into the process of composing a text to connect best to the audience instead of translating and editing one.

It is clear that the translators and editors wanted to improve their texts through manipulation and so every replacement purposefully aims at a language variety used by the intended audience of the translator/editor. Most of the replacements are manipulations to create a more appropriate language variety, and are not corrections of obvious errors. Replacements are interesting examples of intentional emendations to accommodate to the audience, because both the deleted and the added element are recognizable. This makes the study of the translator's considerations feasible; however, with some reservations.

In the first place, the number of replacements should be related to the length of a text. I chose to relate the numbers of replacements to the number of words and tokens in order to see which texts were the most densely edited ones. The visible edits of these texts show a critical editor and are more interesting for studying audience design.

In the second place, the replacements are made to improve all kinds of linguistic elements. It is important to consider that the replacements not only include changes of words, but also of orthography, word order, fixed constructions and present insights into phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax.

In the third place, systematic analysis of replacements, with regard to the *Idea Fidei Fratrum* and the Gospel Harmony, show the influence of German and possibly English source texts. A closer look even shows an increasing number of elements which can be related to the possible English source text. Note that I only searched for visible changes in the texts, encoded by diplomatic symbols.

Since the missionaries only started their translations into English in the 1840s, English was not yet the language of their addressees at the end of the eighteenth century. However, the above mentioned English-related changes show that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole may have had some English influence. The example of the first section of the Creole *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (see section 10.2) shows that an attempt was made to change the German oriented text into an English related one. It is interesting that the editor may have used the English translation of this text as a source. This translation was printed in England, and so the editor must have been aware of the importance of a correct English translation both as a means of communicating with the addressees, and in order to maintain correct religious jargon. This time however, the jargon was adapted from the English version.

The influence of English has not been conclusively proven yet, but at least some historical sources mention the role of the Danes of St. Thomas to help the English speaking Dutch citizens of St. Eustatius to flee from the English fleet in 1781, at the beginning of the so-called Fourth British War (December 1781-1784). Not only did the Danes welcome the immigrants on St. Thomas, they also helped these Statians to

get back their confiscated properties (Menkman 1939: 172, Goslinga 1985: 151). At that time English was the most important koine in the Windward Caribbean (Aceto 2006). From 1840 on, missionaries changed from Virgin Islands Dutch Creole to English in their work.

Varieties similar to Virgin Islands English Creole are spoken on several islands. Not only are they spoken on the US Virgin Islands, but also on the British Virgin Islands and on the Dutch islands of Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten. Small dialectal differences can be seen between most of the islands. In 1774 this Creole was mentioned (Auerbach 1774), while the Creole of the other Danish Antilles was still Dutch related.

Further study of deletions, without the addition of alternative elements, may present extra insight in the translators' connection to his audience. Analysis of the entire corpus may reveal much information about authenticity of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole; however because of the sheer size of the corpus, a closer look at the most densely edited text may be much more productive.

The study of the change into Virgin Islands English or Virgin Islands English Creole as the vernacular of the Danish Antilles could be helpful in understanding this interesting period. Unfortunately, I am not aware of such a study and of possible textual sources on this topic.

11. Studying variants of texts to discover connection with the audience

Correcting clerical errors (chapter 7) and adapting the language for the audience by editing the texts (Chapter 8, 9 and 10) were not the only ways in which translators improved their texts. As discussed in Chapter 5, they were also critical about the language to be used in a printed version of a text, preparing various editions. It is easy to see the changes within texts, as we saw in preceding chapters. However, some texts were changed in following editions, and this can tell us something about both the changing perspectives of the authors with regard to correct use of the Creole language and about possible changes in language use on the Islands. In this chapter I will pay attention to the texts of which we know the variants and which can therefore be compared best.

11.1 Introduction and pilot study

When choices had to be made about the order in which the manuscripts should be entered into our Clarin-NEHOL corpus, we immediately chose to digitalize four manuscript variants of the Gospel Harmony first.¹ The richness of a digital corpus is not only determined by the number of different texts, but also by the number of variants of comparable texts. One of the reasons for our strategy was so that we could do stemma research in which the four versions of the Gospel Harmony² were compared to each other. Stemma research, which is mostly used with regard to manuscripts written before the invention of printing, concerns the search for relations between variants of texts. It clarifies which text was used as an example for another one and which text appears to be the most important variant. It shows which language elements were changed or maintained to create a perfect variant of the text. This meant that we needed to date the variants of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts, somewhat naively thinking that the translators used only one source text for creating a new translation and as a consequence, every new version could be an improved version of the preceding one.³ Our hypothesis was that these texts were copied in a certain order, and we hoped to find linguistic changes, added by the translators/scribes. We expected, without a scholarly basis, that comparison would reveal diachronic changes. A quick pilot immediately showed several difficulties with this hypothesis; I will return to the issue later in this chapter.

I am not the first researcher to compare Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts. Several Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts were compared to each other as early as

¹ We postponed the decision to include the printed version of the Gospel Harmony (3110) into our corpus, since we hoped that the development of scanning historical prints would improve and would relieve us of a lot of typing. Unfortunately we never had the opportunity to do this job again.

² mss. 321, 322, 3231 and 3232.

³ According to this argument, the oldest translation should be the version, that connects least well with the audience and each following text would connect increasingly well to the audience. However, the translation history is much more complex when translators have the possibility of using more than one source when creating a new translation.

the eighteenth century. In Magens (1770: 37-80) and Oldendorp (1770/2002: 716-720) we see thirteen and four conversations respectively placed next to each other to indicate differences in register or dialect. In Magens (1770: 37-51) for instance, we find a long conversation between a heathen and a catechist, followed by twelve short conversations between respectively orderlies, slaves, good friends, friends, about breakfast, between a man and a tailor a collection of short examples from conversations, a mother and daughter, a father and son, a brother and sister, a man and his enslaved male servant, and a woman and her enslaved female servant. The reader of the conversations is not aided by linguistic comments and has to analyze the conversations and the role of the speakers in order to study correct language use. Pontoppidan (1881) analyzes the differences and introduces the word *Hochkreol* to distinguish the colonists' variant from the specific variant spoken by the enslaved population. Hesseling (1905: 35-36, 41) pays attention to the difference between texts translated by Danish Lutherans and the German Moravian Brethren, and for instance, Van Name's opinion about this. Stein's (1985) analysis of his corpus of slave letters from the Danish Antilles shows differences and resemblances between letters, focusing on the growing awareness of the writers about necessary elements in their Creole language. Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 177ff) compared three ABC-booklets in order to search for authorship and to study the contents. Diachronic changes were not studied. Hvenekilde & Lanza (1999) analyze two ABC-booklets more thoroughly.

Hesseling was the first to compare two editions of the Psalm book, which were published in 1774 and 1784. Hesseling (1905: 44) writes:

"In 1784 the second edition of this psalm book appeared. It is a 'new and enlarged', and here and there improved edition. The 'improvement' consists mainly of the inclusion of even more Dutch words."⁴

For example, the first two lines of the third stanza of nr. 9 in the first edition are:

O Joe Blick van Heerlikheit!
Licht van Licht, ut God ka parri!'

And in the second edition (nr. 2):

'O Blik van die Heerlikheid,
Licht van Licht ut God gebooren!" (Hesseling 1905: 44)

In the manuscript version of his comparison, Hesseling reports that "the first edition contains more strange words, the second is closer to Dutch."⁵ (Hesseling BPL 2408, cahier 5). His analysis is not based on a brief inspection of the texts, but on comparison of four hymns which he transcribed on four pages in a cahier.

⁴ "Het is een 'nieuwe en vermeerte, ook hier en daar verbeeterde' druk. De 'verbetering' bestaat hoofdzakelijk in 't nog meer opnemen van Hollandse woorden." (Hesseling 1905: 44)

⁵ 'Algemene indruk van de vergelijking. De eerste ed. bevat meer vreemd. woorden, de tweede is verhollandst.'

Hvenekilde and Lanza (1999) analyze the linguistic variation in two eighteenth-century Lutheran primers, namely Wold (1770) and Kingo (1770). Since both primers appeared in the same year, it is interesting to study the differences. Hvenekilde and Lanza (1999: 278-288) analyze epenthetic vowels, spelling, lexical choices, grammatical markers and prepositions. Their conclusion is clear: “Since the texts are translated religious texts with a quite fixed form in the source language (Danish), we cannot expect to find great differences in style.” (Hvenekilde & Lanza 1999: 289). However, although the differences are small, Kingo’s primer has more Creole-like features, which can, for instance, be explained by the fact that Kingo was on the islands longer and must have had more experience with African speakers of the Creole. Wold stayed closer to the Creole of the European speakers and can be compared to Magens in this.

In our pilot I compared the five Virgin Islands Dutch Creole versions of Luke 2: 8⁶ that were translated by Moravian Brethren. In the following example I first present the original text by Lieberkühn (1769/1820), the English translation of Lieberkühn’s Gospel Harmony (1771, edition 1823), the translation of the verse according to the *Statenvertaling* ‘Dutch Authorized Version of the Bible’ (ST). Since the English translation resembles the King James version of the Bible and differs from the German source text, I also add my translation of Lieberkühn (1769/1820) (CvR). Finally I present the five Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmony versions of Luke 2: 8, the manuscripts 321, 322, 3231 and 3232, and the published edition 3110. It may give some insight into the composition of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole versions.

Luke 2: 8:

Lieberkühn (1820): Und es waren Hirten in derselben Gegend auf dem Felde bey den Hürden, die hüteten des Nachts ihrer Heerde

Lieberkühn (1823): And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night.

ST: En er waren herders in diezelfde landstreek, zich houdende in het veld, en hielden de nachtwacht over hun kudde.

CvR: And there were shepherds in the same region in the field at the pen, who tended at night their flock.

Five Virgin Islands Dutch Creole variants by Moravian translators:

Text 321

En Beest Oppasser a wies na die selve Landstreek
na die Savan-buten bi die Kotten, die a hou die Wach na
Donker over die Hoop Beest senders.

⁶ In section 6 of Lieberkühn’s (1769/1820) Gospel Harmony.

- 321 En Beest Oppasser a wees na die selve Land strek
and beast⁷ watcher PST BE NA DET same region
na die Savan buten bi die Kotten, die a hou
NA DET savannah outside with DET folds DET PST keep
die Wach na Donker over die Hoop Beest sender.
DET watch NA dark over DET mass beast 3PL

Text 322

*En die a hab Beest op
passers na die Selvde Land Streek na
die Sawan nabüten, en Sender a hou wach
na Donker, vor passop Sender Skaapen
bi die Kotten.*

- 322: En die a hab Beest oppassers
and DET PST have beast watchers
na die Selvde Land Streek na
NA DET same region NA
die Sawan nabüten, en sender a hou wach
DET savannah outside and 3PL PST keep watch
na Donker, vor passop sender Skaapen bi
NA dark FOR watch 3PL sheep at
bi die Kotten.
at DET folds

Text 3231

*En
dier a mass Beest. Oppassers na die selve Land
strek, buten na Savan, bi die Kotten. Di a passop
op sender Vee, na Donker.*

⁷ Beest: in the Dutch dialect often the proper word for 'one head of cattle'. In this case 'sheep', but 'cow' in Zeelandic Dutch.

3231: En daar a wees Beest Oppassers na dieselvde Landstreek,
and there PST BE beast watchers NA DET.same region
buiten na Savan, bij die Kotten, die a pass
outside NA savannah at DET folds DET PST watch
op sender Vee na Donker
up 3PL cattle NA dark

Text 3232

*En daar a wees Herders in
dieselvde Landstreek na die Savan by die Horden, die
a hou Wach in die Nacht over sender Hoopje.*

3232: En daar a wees Herders in
and there PST BE shepherds in
dieselvde Landstreek na die Savan bij die Horden, die
DET.same region NA DET savannah at DET troops DET
a hou Wach in die Nacht over sender Hoopje.
PST hold watch in DET night over 3PL mass.DIM

Text 3110

**En daar a
wees Herders in dieselvde Landstreek na die
Savan by die Horden, die a hou Wach in die
Nacht over sender Hoopje.**

3110: *En daar a*
and there PST
wees Herders in dieselvde Landstreek na die
BE shepherds in DET.same region NA DET
Savan by die Horden, die a hou Wach in die
savannah with DET troops DET PST hold watch in DET
Nacht over sender Hoopje.
night over 3PL mass.DIM

It is interesting to see that in the oldest three Virgin Islands Dutch Creole examples (321, 322 and 3231) the word *kotten* 'folds' (>Zeelandic Dutch 'stable, fold, shed') suddenly appears, while this word is absent in the original Bible verse. The

phonological similarity between *kotten* ‘folds’ and the Dutch word *kudde* ‘herd’, which is mentioned in the Dutch Bible verse, may indicate a misunderstanding of an original Dutch text. This hypothesis is supported by the diversity of words used for ‘herd’, even by the same translator (namely Johann Böhner in both 321 and 322) and the absence of ‘folds’ in 3232 and 3110, which have ‘troops’ in that position. In this verse the youngest variants, 3232 and 3110 are identical, except for the use of <ij> and <y>.

A traditional critical apparatus^{8 9} makes it possible to compare the texts quickly. See for instance the comparison of the above mentioned verse:

- 321: En Beest Oppasser a wees na die selve Land strek na die Savan buten bi die Kotten, die a hou die Wach na Donker over die Hoop Beest sender.
- 322: En die a hab Beest oppassers na die Selvde Land Streek na die Sawan nabüten, en sender a hou wach na Donker, vor pass op sender Skaapen bi die Kotten.
- 315: En die ha hab Herders daesoo na die selve Land, en sellie ha how Wagt na Donker, for pas op sender Skaepen.
- 3231: En daar a wees Beest Oppassers na dieselvde Landstreek, butten na Savan bij die Kotten, die a passop sender Vee, na Donker.
- 3232: En daar a wees Herders in dieselvde Landstreek na die Savan bij die Horden, die a hou Wach in die Nacht over sender Hoopje.
- 318: En daar a wees Herders na dieselvde Land-streek na die Savan, by die Horden, die a hou Wach na die Nacht over sender Hoopje.
- 3110: En daar a wees Herders in dieselvde Landstreek na die Savan by die Horden, die a hou Wach in die Nacht over sender Hoopje.
- G. Und es wahren Hirten in derselben Gegend auf dem Felde bey den Hürden, die hüteten des Nachts ihrer Heerde
- E. And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night.

Beest Oppasser 321, Beest oppassers 322/3231, Herder 315/3232/318/3110
 Beest Oppasser a wees (SV) 321, die a hab Beest oppassers 322/315 (DET-V-O), daar a wees Beest Oppassers (AVS) 3231/3232/318/3110.
 a wees 321/3231/3232/318/3110, a hab 322/315
 na die selve 321/322/3231/318, daeso na die selve 315, in dieselvde 3232/3110
 Land strek 321/322/3231/3232/318/3110, Land 315
 na die Savan 321/322/3231/3232/318/3110, - 315
 buten 321, nabüten 322, - 315/3232/318/3110
 bi die Kotten 321/3231, (...) bi die Kotten 322, bij die Horden 3232/318/3110, - 315

⁸ A critical apparatus is a systematic overview of related textual elements of different variants of a text. It often accompanies one variant of the text to illustrate variance. In this chapter I present all variants under each other. The critical apparatus which I placed under the primary texts has the function of focusing on the varieties to show a possible diachronic difference or possible differences between the texts of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

⁹ An earlier published example of a critical apparatus of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts was published in Van Rossem (2014b: 34-38, Gospel Harmony, section 5, verse 1).

die 321/3231/3232/318/3110, en sender 322, en sellie 315
 a hou die Wach 321, a hou wach 322/315/3232/318/3110, pas op 315/3231
 na Donker 321/322/315, (...) na Donker 3231, in die Nacht 3232/318/3110
 over die Hoop Beest sender 321, vor pass op sender Skaapen 322/315, die a passop
 sender Vee 3231, over sender Hoopje 3232/318/3110

A first impression of this critical apparatus shows that the earliest texts, 321 and 322, are closely related. The Danish translation, 315, often has the same variant as 322. The newest texts, 3232, 318 and 3110 are also related. Text 3231 is somewhat hybrid: it shares similarities with both the earliest and Danish, and the newest texts.

In our example, the word order of some variants resembles the one of the source text. The construction in *derselben Gegend auf dem Felde bey den Hürden* ‘in the same region on the field with the flock’) can be recognized in *na die selve Land strek na die Savan buten bi die Kotten* (321/3231/3232/318/3110). Text 322 differs, since it places *bi die Kotten* at the end of the verse. In Magens’ New Testament (315) it is absent. The English source text places the time of the event at the end of the verse: *keeping watch over their flock by night*, while the German has *die hüteten des Nachts ihrer Heerde*. Only 3231 has a construction which follows the English source text.

The use of a Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word for ‘flock’ is strange. In 321 we see *die Hoop Beest sender* ‘a lot of animals’. However, 322 mentions the animals *sender Skaapen bi die Kotten* ‘their sheep by the folds’. In 3231 *Kotten* returns in another place, but can still be interpreted as ‘folds’. In the newer texts 3232, 318 and 3110 we see that *Kotten* has been changed into *Horden*, according to the German source text *Hürden* ‘sheep pen’. The word *Heerde* ‘flock’ was translated into *Hoopje* ‘little pile’. Dutch *hoop* means ‘a lot’ and can easily be used in the above mentioned construction, however the use of *hoopje* for ‘flock’ is strange and seems to be derived from the construction in 321.

Although it was impossible to create a clear stemma or sequence of transcriptions of these Virgin Islands Dutch Creole verses, a superficial comparison of this fragment shows that in the earliest texts, simpler and more analytical terms are used than in the versions printed in the nineteenth century. A more Creole-like plural marking with a third person plural pronoun added behind a noun can be found in the oldest text, but not in the others. Not only orthographical differences, but also, lexical, morphological, and syntactic differences are apparent. Hinskens & van Rossem (1996) have focused on the use of the word *sender* ‘3PL’ in these comparable texts, as did Van der Voort & Muysken (1996) for reflexives. Other comparative studies can be found in the research of Robbert van Sluijs (2017) about TMA-markers, and in the following sections of this chapter.

11.2 Method

11.2.1 Which texts to compare?

As noted, an important aspect of philological research is the comparison of text variants. In traditional philology with a cultural focus, the stemma of the texts, the heritage of the source texts and the change of contents play an important role. From the beginning, however, diachronic change in the variants of the language used in the manuscript has also received attention.

As we saw in 11.1, in the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, the availability of early texts creates the opportunity to study not only synchronic variation by focusing on for instance audience design, but also to study diachronic variation. Since the process of creolization and the related grammaticalization depends largely on diachronic linguistics, we must explore these possibilities of our corpus.

Not all Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts can be used, however. For the use of the texts in order to study variation, a few aspects need to be very clear:

- The date of the texts;
- The relation of contents between the texts;
- The provenance of the texts;
- The chronological distance between the texts.

The dating of the texts is not always easy. Several texts in the Clarin-NEHOL corpus contain dates on the initial pages or can be dated when found in a volume with a dated text. In a few cases metalinguistic comments supply information about the date of translation. As shown in chapter 5.5.1 Johann Böhner wrote at least three letters from which the translation process can be roughly reconstructed. In addition, we also must rely on the dates which were recorded in the catalogues of, in our case, the archives of the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut (Germany), Bethlehem (USA) and Zeist (The Netherlands).

The bulk of our Creole texts are unique in their contents. Comparison with other texts is of course still possible then, but would exclude a word for word comparison. However, our corpus presents several cases of comparable variants:¹⁰

- The first 35 sections of the Gospel Harmony (321, 322, 3231, 3232, 3110);
- The New Testament (315, 318);¹¹
- Some hymns from the psalm books;
- The so-called *Martelweek* (321, 322, 3110, ms. *Geskiednis na die Martel-Week en tee na die Hemelvaart van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus*)¹²;
- The first verses of the Book of Genesis (325, 3313).

¹⁰ Comparison of twentieth-century material is also possible, though to a lesser extent. In De Josselin de Jong (1926) of several texts, two, and in one case even three, variants are available. See chapter 16.3. In one of his recordings Sprauve (1985) invited Mrs. Stevens to translate Grimm's tale of 'The Bremen Town Musicians'. The comparison of this and De Josselin de Jong's 1923 version are included in chapter 13.1.2.

¹¹ In June 2017 manuscript 321z appeared to be the only page left of a missing variant of the Acts 5: 22-40, which was not by Johann Böhner. It is glued into manuscript 324. Of this fragment three variants are available for textual comparison: 321, 322 and 321z.

¹² The manuscript *Geskiednis na die Martel-Week en tee na die Hemelvaart van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus* is not dated. The handwriting seems similar to that of J.C. Auerbach, which dates this text between 1784 (the start of the translation and editing of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts) and 1792 (death, St. Croix). It is kept in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pa. USA. MissVI 187.

The provenance of the Creole texts is not always clear. For the printed texts we do not always know who was responsible for the texts themselves. Metalinguistic comments sometimes reveal the writers/translators; For instance, the approbation of one of the psalm books was announced in one of the letters of Johann Böhner (May 11th, 1773, see chapter 5.4.1), in which he presented himself as a critical editor.

With regard to missionary texts in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, we can distinguish two traditions: the Lutheran (Danish) tradition and the Moravian (German) tradition. Although different in their orthography, these traditions also share a lot of similarities. See for instance the example of Luke 2 8 which shows that Magens' version 315 is often similar to Böhner's 322 manuscript. It also does not mean the translators were native speakers of Danish or German respectively. The first psalm book was written by missionaries of the (German) Moravian Brethren; however one of the writers, Samuel Isles, was native speaker of English.

When studying change, traditionally a substantial chronological distance is preferred for the reconstruction of actual change. In classical philology the distance is larger than, for instance, twenty years (a generation), so that language change can be studied without the blurring possibility of one translator working on two texts at more or less the same moment. In the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole we are already fortunate if we have a chronological distance of about ten years. A preliminary look at the texts shows that it is very well possible that more than one source text was used to create a new version of the text. However, the pace of change in Creole languages may be more rapid than in more consolidated languages.

Since the process of translating and optimizing the text in the Creole setting was an ongoing process, every version may show new views on connecting best to the audience and the use of multiple versions next to each other even presents more information about which language and contents were the most suitable. In the case of the psalm books, the distance is relatively large, respectively 35 years (Moravian Brethren) or even 64 years (Lutheran mission):

German/Moravian Brethren

<i>Creol Leedekin Boekje</i>	Samy Isles Georg Weber Bruder Johann	1749-1753
334 <i>Beylage zum Diario (...)</i>	B.J. ¹³	1755
313 ¹⁴ <i>Gebeden en Liederen (...)</i>	Anonymous ¹⁵	1765
314 <i>Psalm-boek voor die (...)</i>	Anonymous	1774
316 <i>Psalm-boek voor die (...)</i>	Anonymous	1784 ¹⁶

¹³ Probably 'Bruder Johann', in my opinion Johann Böhner.

¹⁴ In Clarin-NEHOL: Herrn65a.

¹⁵ According to Reinecke (1975: 318, no. 4) Johann Auerbach. This is impossible, since Auerbach came to the Danish Antilles in 1766. Metalinguistic comments of Böhner in his preface of 322 and in his letters of 1773 relate this text to Johann Böhner.

¹⁶ Reinecke (1975:318, nr.5): "2nd edition of the 1774 *Psalm-boek*: 349 psalms, and liturgies. The high point of 'high,' Hollandized Creole."

Danish/Lutheran mission

<i>Creool Psalm-buk</i>	J. C. Kingo/E.R. Wold ¹⁷	1770
<i>Psalm-Buk</i>	[A.J. Brandt]	[Before 1799] ¹⁸
<i>Creol Psalm-Buk</i>	A.J. Brandt	1799
<i>Creol Psalm-Buk</i>	A.J. Brandt ¹⁹	1823
<i>Creol Psalm-Buk</i>	A.J. Brandt	1827
<i>Creol Psalm-Buk</i>	A.J. Brandt	1834

In Böhner's letter from May 11th, 1773, just before the approval of the new psalm book, metalinguistic comments with regard to the psalm book of 1774 can be found (See chapter 5.5.1). The discussion about misunderstanding elements from the church jargon of the missionaries, clarifies how purposefully the right words and constructions were chosen for the final versions. Comparison by using a critical apparatus shows which elements were eventually removed, changed or added.

All nineteenth-century psalm books in the Danish tradition are mentioned as reprints of Brandt's 1799 edition, however, some differences can be found in orthography and content. Since the Moravian and the Danish/Lutheran tradition use different hymns in their psalm books, a comparison of these is not possible.²⁰

The distance between the five versions of the Gospel Harmony seemed relatively small (15 years) on first sight when we thought ms. 321 to be from about 1780 and the printed work 3110 to be copy of ms. 3232 (about 1795). However, when the earliest Gospel Harmony is dated in 1773 and the printed one is regarded as independent from 1833, we have 60 years of distance:

¹⁷ There is uncertainty about the authorship of this edition. Both Kingo and Wold are mentioned as authors, See Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 178-179, 295)

¹⁸ Anonymous manuscript. A copy was sent by Poul Olsen, head of Rigsarkivet Copenhagen, to Van der Voort on February 17, 2003, who attributed it to A.J. Brandt (Van der Voort, p.c.).

¹⁹ There is a lot of uncertainty about the authorship of these booklets. Brandt is mentioned in the first place but J.J. Praetorius and T. Lund are also mentioned as authors or editors of all editions since 1799. See Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 295).

²⁰ Almost all hymn texts are accompanied by their melodies. Comparison of melodies can help to find variants of texts from different traditions. Unfortunately the best known hymn that I am aware of, O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden (text Paul Gerhart, 1656) is not present in the Danish psalm books. (See chapter 20.ch11.1)

321	Johann Böhner	about 1773 ²¹
322	Johann Böhner	about 1780/1782
3231	Johann Christoph Auerbach	between 1784 and 1792 ²²
3232	Anonymous	about 1795
3110	Anonymous	1833

It is therefore possible that the translators used more than one source text to create a new version and that the translators were of the same ‘language variety generation’. As presented in 6.4, Böhner is the most important translator of Samuel Lieberkühn’s 1769 Gospel Harmony into the two first versions of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmony (321, 322). However, in 1784, his Gospel Harmony appeared to be outdated and Auerbach got the assignment to rewrite it (see 5.5.1). Auerbach’s translation shows English influences and, although I have no historical evidence of German Moravian Brethren using the English translation of Lieberkühn (1771), a comparison of variants seems to point to the use of it. See the example of Luke 2: 8 in which only 3231 follows the word order of the English translation of Lieberkühn.

Since some of the sections of Lieberkühn’s Gospel Harmony were literally taken from the New Testament, these sections can also be compared to the related chapters in the Bible itself.²³

315	Jochem Melchior Magens	1781
318	Anonymous	1802

In an ideal situation we have the possibility of comparing seven texts, of which 315 is from a Danish translator, spanning a period of about sixty years, 321 is the oldest text (from perhaps 1773) and 3110 is the newest (from 1833).

²¹ Dating the early Gospel Harmony translations of Böhner remains an interesting quest. In Oldendorp (1987: 540, not in original manuscript Oldendorp): ‘Among the special projects of the mission, I must cite here the translation of the Holy Scriptures and of religious hymns. In the period covered by this history (1759-1762, CvR), a great deal was done in that area. Johann Böhner, who had succeeded in developing a considerable proficiency in the Creole language in the course of his long period of service to the mission, deserves great credit for his translation of many hymns and excerpts from the holy scriptures, and particularly for his compilation of a coherent narrative history of Jesus Christ, based on the four Gospels, prepared for the Negro congregation. He completed that project in August 1761. It served, for the most part, as the basis for public reading to the congregation. Thus, the Creole versions of entire chapters from the Bible were read, not only on congregation days but sometimes also on other Sundays as well.’ This could not have been the translation of Lieberkühn’s Gospel Harmony, because that only appeared in 1769. However, a text written by Böhner in 1773 tells us that at least one Gospel Harmony must have existed at that time.

²² In 1784 Auerbach was asked to edit the Gospel Harmony (Visitationsbericht 1784). In January 1792 he passed away on St. Croix (Anon. 1816: 368).

²³ As far as we know, the intention of Carstens to translate the New Testament into Creole, which was noted in Friedrich Martin’s diary on November 8, 1736 (see section 6.3), had not been fulfilled.

Another interesting set of texts to compare can be found outside of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Moravian Brethren in Surinam translated Lieberkühn's Gospel Harmony into Sranan (Schumann 1781) which consists of only 90 pages, and into a kind of mixed Saramaccan/Sranan (Wietz 1792) which is complete. See for instance section 9.3.

11.2.2 Three case studies

To give an impression of the use of different variants to study variation between texts, I compared three sets of texts.

First I compared hymns written in the Moravian tradition, because I had the opportunity to view a chronological distance of about 35 years. I focused on some well-known and frequently used texts, such as *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, Paul Gerhardt (1656)/ *O Head so full of bruises*, John Gambold (1739). Potential German and English source texts are available for this hymn and so comparison with these texts to trace the referee influence of the source is possible.

Second, the hymn *O! Planterman* which was written by Danish missionaries, is present in several Danish sources and appears in studies about the Danish Mission (for instance Donnella 2007: 84-87) and two versions were placed next to each other in Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 197-199). In our archives we have seven versions: every psalm book includes this hymn and it can also be found in Kingo's primer (1770). This hymn is unique: we do not know of a possible Danish source text.

The comparison of hymns has one important restriction: the lines are bound to the meter of the hymn and to the number of syllables per line. It is therefore not likely for the study syntactic aspects to be possible and so I focus on other distinctive Creole elements in the fields of orthography, lexicon and morphology. Every significant change will be related to audience design, since I expect the authors to improve the texts in every edition towards the actual users of the hymn books. Because of space, I only focus on the first stanzas. Significant elements from following stanzas will be mentioned but will not be presented in a critical apparatus.

Third, I compared some sections from the Gospel Harmony. Not only could I use the four digitized versions (321, 322, 3231 and 3232), but I was also able to use the complete printed edition of 1833 (3110). Since some of the sections in the Gospel Harmony of Samuel Lieberkühn (1769/1820), the source text of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmony, consist of complete sections from the New Testament, it was also possible to include parts of J.M. Magens translation of the New Testament (1781, coded 315) and the anonymous Moravian translation of the New Testament (1802, coded 318).

To narrow down the research, I chose to focus on some relatively short sections which were available in all of the above mentioned texts: I, II, 1, 3, 5, 6, 13, 16, 18 and 20. I also worked on section 25, which is also analyzed in Van Sluijs, Van den Berg & Muysken (2016).²⁴ Building a critical apparatus takes a lot of time, especially when digital comparison is not possible; however, the extra focus on the smallest aspects of the texts yields extra information which could easily be

²⁴ The texts and related critical apparatus will be published digitally in the near future.

overlooked when texts are studied separately. To save time, I only compared short texts as an indicator for further research.

All verses were placed under each other in chronological order and the two possible source texts, Lieberkühn's original German text (1769, version 1820) and his 1781 English translation, were added to clarify constructions.

Just like the example in 11.1, the basis of the critical apparatus is the earliest text, 321. I have added all differences under the texts. Using these glosses, relations between the texts become clear. See 20.ch11.3 for the comparison of all available variants of section 13 of the Gospel Harmony.

Since the translator is not bound to a number of syllables per line, unlike in the hymns, the syntactic changes can be looked at.

11.3 Results

11.3.1 Variation in *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*

The full text of the hymns being compared and the related critical apparatus can be found in 20.ch11. A first glance at the variants shows that the earliest texts, from 1749-1753 and 1755 respectively, are quite alike. The two newest texts d and e are also closely related. At some points the relation to the influence of the possible source texts is present. Since several sources indicate an increasing importance of English as vernacular at the Danish Antilles at the end of the eighteenth century, the influence of a possible English source is of importance. This would suggest that the authors tried to connect to a Creole speaking audience whose language was becoming more and more influenced by English.

The earliest texts, a and b, share several elements. The use of initial <z> in a, which points towards initial /z/ in noteworthy. This is uncommon in newer texts: when the etymon of a word has <z>, most of the time it is spelled with a voiceless <s>.²⁵

In some cases the German source is literally translated, for instance in stanza 1, lines 1 and 3 in c, d and e. A closer look, which makes the appendix necessary, shows that small parts and remarkable words were also literally translated or transferred into the Creole version. It becomes interesting for audience design when it becomes obvious that a change towards the auditors is being made. Some elements can be used as a shibboleth for Creole authenticity. In this hymn we see for instance:

- *The use of epenthetic vowels.*
 - o In the earliest texts we see *schimpieret* (a) and *schuimpeeret* (b), stanza 1: 7, which are both related to G. *schimpferen* 'to slander'. Texts d and e (stanza 1: 2) have *skimpi* 'sorrow'. All texts use *moeschi* 'much'(>S. *mucho*) and *sondo* 'sin'(>D. *zonde*).
- *The use of a description or simplification of a concept.*
 - o In stanza 1: 4, both the German and the English sources use *crown of thorns* to describe the head covering of Jesus. Texts c, d and e use *Steekel-Kroon*, in which *steekel* 'thorn, prickle' is related to D. *stekel* 'thorn', and *Kroon* to D. *kroon*. However texts

²⁵ Further study of this manuscript can perhaps find out whether <z> is a representation of German /dz/ or /ts/ (Verouden, p.c.).

a and b both use a more simple description: *steekel hoet*, in which *hoet* ‘hat’ is related to D. *hoed* ‘hat’. The use of *hoed* in this context is not possible in Dutch, which points to the use of *hoed* for the concept ‘head covering’ in early Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In both Hesseling (1905: 279) and De Josselin de Jong (1926: 85) *hut* is only used as ‘hat’.

- *The use of terms which can be labeled as related to more languages.*
 - o For instance the word *pover* ‘pauper’ can be related to *pover(e)* (D), *pauper* (D., E.), *pobre*, (Sp.) and *pober* (Pap.). In the edition of 1784, however, it is changed into *sondaer* ‘sinner’, which resembles the use in the English version.

The following examples show changes towards English. The items mentioned are unique; all other variants can be related to a different source:

stanza 1: 5 E. <i>surrounded</i>	<u>c</u> . <i>omgeven</i>
stanza 1: 6 E. <i>majesty</i>	<u>a</u> . <i>Majesteet</i> , c. <i>Majesteit</i>
stanza 4: 1 E. <i>O Lord</i>	<u>e</u> . <i>O Heer</i>
stanza 4: 1 E. <i>tormented</i>	<u>e</u> . <i>Martel</i>
stanza 4: 2 E. <i>sins</i>	<u>d</u> ., <u>e</u> . <i>Sondo-Goed</i> ‘sin-good’
stanza 4: 4 E. <i>pay in blood</i>	<u>a</u> ., <u>b</u> ., <u>d</u> . <i>betal meet Blood</i> ‘pay with blood’

Examples in which German is obviously the source language are omnipresent, can be seen in 20.ch11.1.

11.3.2 Variation in *O! Planterman*

The full text of the hymns that were compared and the related critical apparatus can be found in 20.ch11.2. Only the two oldest versions of this hymn show a content in which God is represented as a planter, for which this hymn was known.

Variant b is from Kingo’s primer and shows Danish orthography which is different from all other variants. It is also the only text in which several words lack final consonants (see Hesseling 1905: 75) and in which at least one word shows an epithetic vowel. Variant a, of which the authorship is under discussion (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 307), differs in several ways, which could suggest that Wold rather than Kingo is its author.

Variant c, the anonymous manuscript from before 1799, differs from all other versions. It contains three words which are less Creole than what the other variants use:

Text	Variant <u>c</u>	Variants <u>a</u> , <u>b</u> , <u>d</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>f</u> , <u>g</u>
Stanza 1, 7	<i>Welbehag</i> (>Du. <i>welbehagen</i> ‘good will, pleasure’ ²⁶)	<i>Sin</i> ‘pleasure’
Stanza 2, 7	<i>Wat</i> (>Du. <i>wat</i> ‘what’)	<i>Wagut</i> ‘what’ (>Creole ‘what+good’)

²⁶ Christian jargon

Stanza 2, 9	<i>Daarom</i> (Du. daarom ‘therefore’)	<i>Diemaek</i> ‘therefore’ (>Creole ‘DET+make’)
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Although respectively *a* and *b*, *d* and *e*, and *f* and *g* are quite similar to one another, we do not see a change towards another variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, nor to a missionary jargon. The differences are mainly in the orthography.

11.3.3 Variation in Gospel Harmony, section 13

The full text of all versions of section 13 of the Gospel Harmony and the related critical apparatus can be found in 20.ch11.3. I have only included section 13; however the other comparable sections of the Gospel Harmony present the same possibilities for comparative analysis:

- The earliest Moravian texts, 321 and 322, resemble the German source text most. They show a similar German-related vocabulary;
- The earliest texts, 321, 322 and the Danish text 315 also show notable resemblance. Since these texts have different sources, similarities must indicate the authentic Virgin Islands Dutch Creole of their audience.
- The text which was probably translated or edited, but at least written down by J.C. Auerbach, 3231, shows remarkable English influence.
- Texts 3232 and 3110 are almost alike. Text 3232 could have been the manuscriptal basis of the printed version 3110 if 3232 had not been incomplete. The layout of 3232 shows that no pages are missing and so this direct relationship is absent.
- Texts 315 and 318 show resemblances based on the source text. These differences from the other texts are due to the New Testament being the source instead of the Gospel Harmony.

11.4 Discussion

One of the aims of the translators was to create an authentic Creole text. Two arguments support this: in the first place the use of Dutch was decreasing in the Danish Antilles, and so the need for correct Creole texts was growing. The other argument is that the translators learned to speak the Creole better and so improved every new version of the missionary texts. However, the last printed texts are obviously formal and the translations are closely related to the source text. The fact that, for instance the Gospel Harmony was printed in 2000 copies and distributed among the 9400 Christianized slaves, underlines the fact that it was done on purpose. The translators/editors were probably convinced that the variety of Dutch Creole chosen was most suitable.

Only one reason can be found for this, according to the model of audience design: the author/translator addressed the texts to a group of auditors which was used to the missionary jargon of Dutch Creole.

In the beginning of the 1790s, Johann Christoph Auerbach probably edited and wrote down the 3231-version of the Gospel Harmony. As we have seen before, for example in the edited first part of the *Idea Fidei Fratrum*,²⁷ English, became

²⁷ See example in chapter 10.2.

important at the end of the eighteenth century. He probably used not only earlier translations by Böhner, or the source text of Lieberkühn (1769/1820), but also the English translation of Lieberkühn's Gospel Harmony which was printed in 1781. Several resemblances point to this.

From the point of view of audience design, Auerbach connected to his auditors, for whom he thought English became a major influence on their Creole.

The idea that the Moravian New Testament (318) was largely based on Böhner's translation of the Gospel Harmony (Stein 1986b: 28) appears to be true. As far as I can see, 322 was the last of the translations which was actually written down by Böhner. In his letter from June 15, 1773, we know he translated the New Testament too. Since Böhner passed away in 1785, the 1802 edition of his New Testament must date from the 1780s. An interesting point is that at least the examples in the word order section of the Creole Grammar of the Moravian Brethren are from this New Testament. See chapter 9. *Word order and numbers* for these examples.

12. Additions

During the process of editing, several changes are made not only to correct obvious mistakes in the writing process, but also to improve the text. In this section I will show that additions were made in a large part of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmonies, not only to correct obvious mistakes in the process of writing, but also to connect to the audience of the texts. In this case two kinds of audience play an important role: the auditors and the referees. I will present examples which show techniques of the translator/editor to connect to the audience.

12.1 Introduction

In the case studies in the preceding sections my attention was mainly caught by changes of the original manuscript, mostly by replacing one item with another. However, in several cases the translators also added elements to improve the original text without deleting elements or placing them in another order.

In most cases these additions are added under or over the line, or in the page margins and, most of the time, related to the place by a referential indicator. In these cases, the elements were added during the editing process after the text was written.¹

In other situations the added elements were inserted in the text between brackets of all kinds: (), //, /: :/, (: :). These additions must have been placed in the text during the process of writing.

Why would a translator/editor add elements to a text? It is clear that a forgotten element which was present in the source text, should be inserted it. Alongside that, an element which was obviously written wrongly should be repaired to keep the text readable. On the other hand, the writer also feels the need to connect to his audience on the level of understanding the translated text. In most cases the addition is placed after the related item in the text. It is clear that the addition is presenting extra information. When an addition is placed before the related item, however, this means that the original item, often placed between brackets to indicate the next item is best, may have been considered to not be connecting in the best way to the intended audience.

When members of the audience needed extra information to relate the text to other texts or sources, the addition is due to referee design: the translator/editor adds information which is not necessary to understand the text, but links the text to the translating tradition of his referees.

When members of the audience needed extra information to understand the text correctly, the writer should add extra linguistic information, lexical information or information about the contents, explaining unknown elements such as missionary jargon or Christian culture.

Whenever it is clear the text was read by addressees, the additions may have been of use to present extra information when reading the texts themselves or to others. In these cases, when the addressee can be recognized, the additions are due to addressee design. The text would link to an individual auditor or to the group of so-called helpers. See

¹ Of course this edit could have taken place only a few moments after the actual writing of the original text.

chapter 6.3.2. From the manuscript 335, *Plicht van Een helper Broeder en Süster*, we do know that these helpers had to participate in services once every five weeks; however nothing is noted about reading liturgical texts.

When information is added which is not related to individual addressees, but rather intended to help the entire group of auditors, as presented in chapter 6, we call this auditor design. The additions must have been of help for the missionaries in making the best connection to the language of these Creole speakers. When elements are inserted in another language, a German/Dutch/Danish/English word instead of the Creole word, it would be a signal for overhearer design. Other signals are: use of explanatory items, connecting jargon, politeness-marked pronouns and/or bilingual language shift (see Bell 1984). Eavesdropper design could be recognized when the translator adds elements which are neither necessary to understand the text (like in auditor or overhearer design), nor to relate the text to a source text or tradition (like in referee design), but instead relate the text to extra textual situations, like the cultural/political situation outside of the community of Christianized slaves. To be honest, I have found only one example which may be understood as eavesdropper design. Johann Böhner added a footnote in which he wrote that the part of the text related to fasting was skipped, since this could not be understood by slaves: “Den saz von Fasten will ich übergehen; weil es eine Sache ist die unter dem Neger Volk nich üblich ist, als wie bey den Copten in Egypten.” (321: par. 25).²

I will assume that the additions present in the manuscripts show that the Moravian Brethren not only translated the Gospel Harmony, but also added information to connect to their audience. Since the largest part of their audience consisted of auditors (missionaries and Christianized enslaved Africans) most of the additions will be aimed at them. Analysis of the elements will show which elements were, from the missionaries’ point of view, best to add to connect to the audience. Elements of referee design are also present, and since these were hardly necessary for the auditors to know, I suppose the tradition of translation and liturgy was of importance for the Moravian Brethren.

12.2 Method

Since the additions make up a large group, I focused on the four files containing the first 35 sections of the Gospel Harmony.³ First, I searched for elements added, indicated by the angled brackets < and >, and checked whether another element nearby was changed or deleted. I also searched for elements added between brackets or other, similar, tokens (), //, /: :/, (: :).

All elements were entered into an excel-file, coded by number of occurrence, but also accompanied by an indication of which speech part was inserted, whether it was likely to be an improvement of a clerical error (2: very likely, 1 possible, 0 not likely), a possible target group within audience design and if the addition was also present as an addition in the source text.

All additions were compared to the possible source texts, namely the German and the English version of Lieberkühn’s Gospel Harmony. When the addition appeared to

² “I want to skip the sentence about fasting, because it is an affair which is not common among the negro people, like among the Copts in Egypt”

³ In Clarin-NEHOL corpus respectively 321_1-35, 322_1-35, 3231_1-35 and 3232_1-35.

be literally inserted into the translation, the addition was marked (2: without a doubt, 1: possible). For all additions, we indicated whether it could be related to a part of the audience. Only two parts were marked in the file: auditor design and referee design. Alongside that, the contents of the addition were marked. Not only were parts of speech indicated, but sometimes also the function of the content, such as for instance a clause, an explanation, a synonym, a part of a word or a token.

During the process of tagging, several additions stood out as related to a part of the audience. The insertion of TMA-markers, for instance, was probably done to clarify the texts for speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The use of explanations also points to auditor design. The use of references, however, can only be seen as helpful for fellow missionaries.

12.3 Results

12.3.1 Addition present in source text, without brackets

The following tables give an impression of the numbers of appearances. First the results are given for elements which were added during the process of editing and not at the same time as the text was written.

Additions which were added after the process of writing was finished: < >

Ms.	Total	Possibly from German or English source text	Mistakes 1: possible, 2: obvious	Auditor	Referee	Doubt audience
321	131	19	53 (1), 48 (2)	26	19	1 (a/r), 3 (ref?)
322	165	21	78 (1), 47 (2)	59	12	12 (a/r), 3 (ref?)
3231	92	36	27 (1), 6 (2)	42	16	8 (a/r), 1 (ref?)
3232	33	22	6 (1), 2 (2)	22	3	2, 0 (ref?)

Some preliminary remarks with regard to the additions which were made without using brackets:

- The bulk of additions in 3232, 64%, were already present in the German or English source text. It seems as if the translator initially chose not to include these additions in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole version; however, in a next stage of editing process these additions finally entered this text;
- In 3232 most of the additions can be connected to auditor design. A large number of them were already present in order to connect to the audience of the source texts. Since the number of additions related to referee design is small, it is obvious that the translator wanted to change the texts towards his direct audience.

232 III. Case studies : eighteenth-century corpus Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts

- In 321 and 322 a large number of additions were necessary to correct clerical errors.
- There is a clear difference between the 1780-texts and the 1790-texts in additions in relation to the source texts. A possible reason for this could be that the translator J. Böhner had more interest in translating the text from the source text, and the editors of 1790 had more interest in critically editing Böhner's translations.

Examples (1a) –(1f) present an example of an addition present in four manuscripts (1a)-(1d) which was also a note in both possible source texts (1e)-(1f).

- (1a) <Ka hoppo een sterke Heiland> (321: 5)
PRF up a strong Savior
- (1b) <ka hoppo een sterk {Heiland.|Help Mann}> (322: 5)
PRF up a strong Savior|Help man
- (1c) <ka stell op een sterke Heiland.> (3231: 5)
PRF set up a strong Savior
- (1d) <ka verwek een sterke Heiland> (3232: 5)
PRF generate a strong Savior
- (1e) <Erwecket einen starken Heiland.> Lieberkühn (1769/1820)
Awakes a strong Savior
- (1f) <Awoke a strong saviour.> Lieberkühn (1771)

As can be seen, the addition which was already present in both possible source texts is present in all four Gospel Harmonies, though in slightly different words. Although added without brackets, these additions were not taken up as corrections, but were originally footnotes in the source texts and were also placed in a comparable format in the Creole texts.

Other examples are:

- (2) Werld <die geheele romanisch Riek.> (321: 6)
Welt <Das ganze römische Reich.> Lieberkühn (1769/1820)
- (3) Hell-vier <voor word ver\brand na die valley Hinno-am.> (322: 25)
Höllischen Feuers <der ist werth, im Thal Hinnom verbrannt zu werden.>
Lieberkühn (1769/1820)

12.3.2 Addition present in source text, with brackets

When extra information is added in a source text, notes are used. These texts show up in the translations as glosses or notes without the use of brackets. However, when this extra information is added to the source text within the text itself, this information is placed between brackets. These additions between brackets are often literally taken over in the translations. In the following example the Virgin Islands

Dutch Creole texts (4a) – (4d) have the addition which is present between brackets in the German source text (4e). The English source text (4f), however, used a footnote for this information.

- (4a) (nabin die Heilige) (321: 1) ‘in the holy’
- (4b) (nabin die Heiligdom) (322: 1) ‘in the sanctuary’
- (4c) (nabinne die heilige Plaats)⁴ (3231: 1) ‘in the holy place’
- (4d) (nabinne die Heiligdom) (3232: 1) ‘in the sanctuary’
- (4e) (in das Heilige) (Lieberkühn 1769/1820) ‘in the holy’
- (4f) <That is, into the holy place. Exod xxx. 7.> (Lieberkühn (1771)

This addition was already present in the source texts, and can therefore be seen as informative for the audience of the earliest versions of the Gospel Harmony.

12.3.3 Obvious mistakes, without brackets

The contents of the additions between brackets are in some cases quite similar to those without brackets. Explanations, adverbs, nouns and synonyms are in both cases the most frequent additions. However, one highly frequent category among the additions without brackets is tokens, especially in the two oldest texts: 321 and 322. In most cases these are obviously not due to audience design, but are to correcting clerical errors.

- (5) a v<r>ag ‘asked’ (321: 7), *vag* ‘X’ is corrected into *vrag* ‘ask’
- (6) nab<i>nne ‘inside’ (321: 4), *nabnne* ‘X’ is corrected into *nabinne* ‘inside’
- (7) tot on<s> Tata ‘to our father’ (321: 4), *on* ‘X’ is corrected into *ons* ‘1PL’
- (8) s<t>oot ‘hit’ (321: 22), *soot* ‘X’ is corrected into *stoot* ‘hit’

A forgotten token was added.

- (9) d<ie> ‘that’ (322: 25)

Forgotten tokens were added.

- (10) Joe <Will> sal geskied ‘your will be done’ (3231: 25)

A forgotten noun was added.

- (11) Dusternis, <maar die Dusternis> ‘darkness, but the darkness (...)’ (3231: I)

⁴ See the remarkable resemblance between the English source and this manuscript. Manuscript 3231 has several places in which resemblances with the English source text appear. The one who was most likely responsible for the translation or editing of this text, since the hand of the manuscript resembles the hand of one of Auerbach’s letters, was well aware of the English influence on the language of the Danish Antilles at the end of the eighteenth century. He married the widow of Samuel Isles (Nelson 1966: 27), an English Moravian Brother who translated and composed some Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts from the 1750s and 60s, and he tried to edit Böhner’s *Idea Fidei Fratrum*. The first paragraph of this manuscript is dealt with in section 10.2 of this dissertation. See also the resemblance between the earliest of the Creole manuscripts, 321, and the German source text, which may point towards a decline of German source text influence in newer texts.

A group of words, which was probably forgotten because of homoioteleuton⁵ of the word *Dusternis*.

12.3.4 Possible mistakes, without brackets

- (12) een Ko<e>ning ‘king’ (321: 2)

On one hand, this addition could be the correction of a missing <e> which should be present in German-like *köning* with /2:/, sometimes spelled as <oe>. In manuscript almost all occurrences of the item ‘king’ were represented by the German-like word *konig* and only a few were spelled *Koenig*. On the other hand, it could be a correction from Dutch-like *koning* into another pronunciation, /k2:nIN/ or /ky.nIN/.

- (13) wat <a> ka see ‘what had been said’ (322: 7)

To find out why a TMA-marker was added, we have to check the source text. In this case Lieberkühn (1769/1820) writes: *das da gesagt ist* ‘lit, what there said is’. The past tense, which is indicated by the marker *a* in the Creole sentence, is absent in the German version. Is it possible that the translator tried to improve the text for his audience or did he add this particle wrongly?

12.3.5 Examples of auditor design

I have not found examples of addressee design. I suppose it is unlikely that a writer or translator would include remarks for one specific addressee, since the text was used for the entire community. As I have shown in chapter 6, the most important group of the translator’s audience are the auditors. The following examples show some additions which change the language of the text towards the auditors, the Christianized slaves and the resident Moravian Brethren.

1. Explanation of church jargon

- (1.1) Legion <ontrent een Getaal van sesdusend.> (3231: 31) ‘legion <about a number of six thousand>’
- (1.2) Raka <Joe Ondeüg> (3231: 25) ‘Raca <Vain fellow.>’ (Lieberkühn 1771: 51)
- (1.3) Judea <die Hodio Land> (3231: 7) ‘Judea < land of the Jews>’
- (1.4) Engel <Botskaper.> (322: 10) ‘angel < messenger>’
- (1.5) Toor<n> <Quaat> (322: 18) ‘wrath <evil>’
- (1.6) Mammon. (die Geld) (321: 25) ‘Mammon (the money)’
- (1.7) heilig Stadt (Jerusalem) (322: 12) ‘holy city (Jerusalem)’
- (1.8) Rabbi (Baas) (321: 19) ‘rabbi (boss)’

⁵ See chapter 7 *The writing process*. We speak of *homoioteleuton* when the writer has probably jumped from one passage into another one which looks more or less similar.

- (1.9) Messias, (welk ben in Oversetting, die Gesalvde,) (3232: 14) ‘Messiah (which is in translation, the anointed)’
- (1.10) die Prophet? (die beloofde) (321: 13) ‘the prophet? (the promised one)’

2. *Explanation of words familiar to colonists*

- (2.1) Wolf <wild Bees-ten> (3231: 25) ‘wolf <wild animals>’
- (2.2) versegel <sett een signet op die> (322: 18) ‘to seal <to put a seal on it>’. In 3232: 18 we read: versegel <bekrachtig.> ‘to seal (to ratify)’. In this case the explanation still seems to be rather juridical Dutch.
- (2.3) a recht em op, (maak em sett) (322: 29) ‘sat him up (make him sit)’
- (2.4) pek (Wien) Druif*i/e* (321: 25) ‘get (wine) grape(s)’

3. *Synonyms*

The addition of a noun differs from the addition of a synonym in the following way. When the original word can be replaced, it is a synonym.

- (3.1) (geboor <bari> (322: 1) (Creole) ‘born <to bear>’
- (3.2) die Moeder <of Mama> (322: 15) ‘the mother <or mum>’
- (3.3) Vlucht, <(koeri wee)> (322: 31) ‘flee, <run away>’
- (3.4) Wief <Vrouw> (322: 3) ‘wife <wife>’
- (3.5) dat <ee*n* oder of gebot> Placat (321: 6)⁶ ‘that <an order or command> placard’
- (3.6) Meester <Leeraar, of Baas> (3231: 17) ‘master <teacher, or boss>’
- (3.7) Gerucht <geskiedenis> (322: 28) ‘rumour, <tale>’

4. *Clarifying nouns*

When the added word clarifies the construction, we have named it ‘clarifying noun’.

- (4.1) <die Koning> Salomon (3231: 25) ‘<the king> Salomo’
- (4.2) twaelf uhr. <meddag> (321: 19) ‘twelve o clock, <afternoon>’
- (4.3) die Wies (Mann) sender (321: 7): noun becomes adjective ‘the wise (man) 3PL’
- (4.4) Skrifgeleerde (Mann) (321:30): noun becomes adjective ‘scribe (man)’
- (4.5) a ka wees voor mi (Tid) (322: 14): verbal expression explained ‘had been before me (time)’
- (4.6) da twee (Mann) (322: 31): noun becomes numeral ‘there two (man)’
- (4.7) toen (si Ouders) sender a kik (3231: 9): pronoun clarified ‘when (his parents) they looked’
- (4.8) si Broer (Philippus,) (3231: 22) reference made explicit by name ‘his brother (Philippus)’
- (4.9) Dagen van (Maria) si Reiniging (3232: 8) ‘days of (Mary)’s purification’

⁶ Since the addition was neither placed between brackets, nor on the line itself, it can be considered as adding a more Creole or informal synonym next to a formal item.

5. Noun to clarify pronoun

- (5.1) Maar <Jesus> Em a see (321: 34) 'however <Jesus> he said'
- (5.2) maak waker die <dooje> (322: 21) 'make awake them <dead person>'
- (5.3) <die Jüngers> sender (3231: 30) '<the disciples> they'

6. Insertion of Creole elements⁷

- (6.1) <Da no> Jender selv le see (321: 19) Creole exclamation: 'Isn't it so that, you yourself are saying (...)'
- (6.2) Oog<o> (321: 8, 322: 25) 'eye', addition of epenthetic vowel
- (6.3) no pien<a> mi (322: 31) 'NEG hurt me', addition of epenthetic vowel
- (6.4) na die Feld <sender> (321: 19) 'NA the field <3PL>' addition of plural indicator
- (6.5) Ste<-e>r 'star' (3231: 7), Dutch-like *ster* 'star', was changed into a form which might have been closer to pronunciation: *steer* 'star'.
- (6.6) a <t>jomp op 'jumped up' (321: 4), English-like spelling *jomp* 'jump' was changed into a more spoken Creole form *tjomp* 'jump'.

7. Insertion of TMA-particle

- (7.1) a PST, 16 appearances, for example: die Mensch sender <a> hab die Dusternis meer lief (...) (3231: 17), die Menschen liebten die Finsterniss mehr (...) (Lieberkühn 1769/1820), 'the people loved the darkness more (...)'
- (7.2) ka PRF, 2 appearances, for example: dat een Kracht a <ka> gaan ut van Em (3232: 34), dass eine Kraft von Ihm ausgegangen war (Lieberkühn 1769/1820), 'that a force had started from him'
- (7.3) sal FUT, 1 appearance: Want jender <sal> honger (322: 25), denn ihr werdet hungern. (Lieberkühn 1769/1820), 'because 2PL will hunger'
- (7.4) le DUR, 3 appearances, for instance: Mi le weet, dat Messias <ol.le> kom, (321: 19), Ich weiss, dass Messias kommt. (Lieberkühn 1769/1820), 'I DUR know that Messiah DUR comes'

8. Insertion of pronouns in imperative sentences

- (8.1) JESus a see tot Simon: <joe> no vrees (321: 23) 'Jesus said to Simon: you don't fear'

9. Changing verbs into nouns

- (9.1) En <doe> ofer met joe Gave (321: 25). The verb *ofer* (>Du. *offeren* 'to sacrifice') was changed into the construction verb+noun *doe ofer* 'to do a sacrifice'.

⁷ The example *voo<r>* 'before' (322: 5), Creole *voo* 'for, in order to', was changed into Dutch/Creole *voor* 'before' seems to show the opposite direction to connect to the audience.

10. *Explanation of a metaphor*

- (10.1) Mond loop over van die. (die Mond praat van die) (322: 25) 'Mouth walks over of it. (the mouth talks of it)'
- (10.2) Na sender Vruchten jender sall be[-r]kenn sender. (dat ben, na sender leev en wandel) (321: 25) 'After their fruit you will know them. (that is, after their life and behavior)'
- (10.3) Moeschi sender sal see tot mi na die jen (laatst) Dag (321: 25) 'Much they will say to me at the (last) day'. The day, meaning the last day, or Judgment Day, is apparently not clear enough.

11. *Towards formal language*

There are some examples of additions of tokens and parts of words which look like correcting vernacular forms into formal ones. See for instance the additions with regard to the pronoun of 3PL *sender*:

- (11.1) tot send<er> 'to 3PL' (321: 34), *send* '3PL' can be found in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 99) as one of the variants of 3PL.
- (11.2) sende<r> '3PL' (322: 22)
- (11.3) sende<r> '3PL' (322: 23), since these examples (11.2) and (11.3) appear in following sections, I do not think this change is the result of correction of a clerical error.
- (11.4) sen<er> (322: 31). Like in (1) *er* is added, however the result is the word *sener* '3PL' which is present in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 99).

12.3.6 *Examples of referee design*

As noted, Bell (1984) mentions that the linguistic features associated with a group can be used to express identification with that group. Referee design is a divergence from the addressee and towards an absent reference group. In this case the translator uses elements which should, according to his group of missionaries/translators, be in the texts, because they belong to the tradition or are needed to place the text in its context of missionary texts. For instance; a translator adds references which are not necessary for the auditors to clarify the texts, which are probably not read out loud, and which are useless without related sources.

1. *Original Biblical word is added*

- (1.1) die tien Stedten <die Land Decapolis> (322: 31) 'the ten cities <the land Decapolis>'
- (1.2) Tobbo. <met reten.> (3231: 15) 'bucket <metrete>'⁸
- (1.3) Stoel <Troon> (3231: 2) 'chair <throne>'

⁸ Unit of liquid measure equal to about 40 liters, Ancient Greece.

2. *References are added*

- (2.1) <Evang. am 21 S.p. Trinitatis> (321: 20), G., ‘Gospel at 21st Sunday after Trinitatis’
- (2.2) <Evang am Neu Jahr> (322: 6), G., ‘Gospel at New Year’s Day’
- (2.3) <5. Mos. 18, 15> (3231: 13), G., ‘5th book of Moses. Deuteronomy, 18: 15)’
- (2.4) <door si Jünger sender. Cap. 4, v.2.> (321: 18) ‘by his apostle 3PL. Chapter 4, verse 2’
- (2.5) <10.> (322: 21), indicator of a Bible verse.

3. *Explanation of own opinion in relation to text in language of missionary*

- (3.1) Ich* glaübe auch, das die Flucht na Egypt<ol.en> erst *...*h der darstellung im Tempel geschehen ist. Der Evangelis Lucas sagt dass nach sie alles vor geschrievne im Tempel ve*r* richt*e/o*t hatten, seyen sie in ihre Stadt na*ch* Nazareth Zurük gekehrt, un der Evan*ge*lis Mattheus er Zehlt: Si seyen gleich na*ch* der abreise der Weisen in Egypten geflo*h*en; Da aber der Evangelis Lucas nicht*s* von der Flucht, und der Evangelist Mat*the*us nichts von der reinigung er Zehlt, so *ist* es ein Zeich<ol.en>, dass jenes, was sie in ihre <lm.schrei<ol.2>> be<ol.1>[-srei]bung anhaengen, nicht [-g] so/gleich sondern erst hernch, das die Reise nac*h* Nazareth nach der Zurük kunft aus Egypten, und die dar stellung im Tempe*I* nach der abreise der Weisen, gesche*hen* sey. \$note indicator without note\$ Da alles vollender war, glei[g+]<c>h*. der erst*m/n* nacht der Engel des Herrn den Joseph im Schlaaf er schien\en ist, v*..* befehl gab in Egypten Zu fliehen, un*d* nach der Zurük kunft nach Nazaeth (322: 8, p. 27-28)⁹

Categories 2 and 3 are not of use for linguistic reasons. These are both meant to present extra information to the reader. The use of German instead of another language highlights the fact that these additions were, at least initially, meant for the German missionaries and not for the helpers. Of category 1, we can imagine some educational purpose.

Regarding the contents of the additions (not between brackets) we can observe that:

- Of all categories, Explanations and Synonyms are the most frequently occurring ones in all manuscripts.
- Other relatively frequently occurring categories are: References, TMA, Pronouns, Nouns and Prepositions.
- Most of these categories can be easily linked to auditor design; however References must be seen as a clear representative of referee design. The only ones who really needed to know clear references are those who are well aware of biblical texts and related concordances.

⁹ In this addition Böhner discusses the sequence of events which happened after the birth of Jesus.

12.4 Comparison of the four manuscripts

The results in 12.3 reflect the possibilities of the additions and the role these might have played in connecting the text to the audience. It is interesting to see that the number and the contents of the additions can differ from manuscript to manuscript.

In Table 1 I present the total number of additions, the number of additions which were already present in the possible source text(s), the number of corrections of writing errors, and the number of additions which can be related to one of the groups in the Audience Design Model.

Ms.	Total	In source	Mistakes 1: possible, 2: obvious	Auditor	Referee	Doubt audience
321	131	22	9	80	7	2 (ref?)
322	144	22	4	94	11	3 (?), 7 (a/r), 1 (ref?)
3231	17 (21)	2 (5)	4 (11)	14 (17)	0 (0)	0 (2, a/r), (1, ref?)
3232	13 (2)	9 (2)	4 (0)	10 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)

Table 1: Numbers of additions: to correct and to connect.

Some preliminary remarks:

- No additions between brackets were meant to correct errors in the process of writing.
- Most of the additions can be considered helpful for the auditors.
- In both 3231 and 3232 no additions were made to connect to the referees.
- Of all additions about 17% were already present in at least one of the possible source texts.
- In 321 and 322 only a few additions (5% and 8% respectively) can be recognized as referee design.
- All of the remaining additions may have been helpful for the audience, but cannot be considered as helpful for only one of the groups in the Audience Design Model.

87 cases of addition were found in more than one text. This means that about 43 highly comparable additions were made in the same sections in more than one text. This could be due to an addition which was already made in one of the source texts, or in the first Virgin Islands Dutch Creole translation (321).

A more critical look at the additions and the reason why these were made should leave out these cases, since they were highly influenced by other texts (referee) instead of by a focus on the auditors.

As we have seen in 12.3, the translator sometimes uses nouns to clarify the texts, sometimes to include a forgotten word from the source text, but in several cases to

insert a clarifying word. Only 4% of all additions without brackets, and the huge amount of 24% of all additions between brackets, consist of nouns.

Just like the addition of tokens is significant for the addition without brackets,¹⁰ the addition of nouns is remarkable for the ones appearing between brackets. Table 2 shows the difference between the percentages of appearance of the elements. When a percentage is negative, the appearance of additions between brackets was larger than the appearance without them. In other words, the translator already added extra information to connect to the audience before the process of editing was carried out.

	adv	clause	expl.	noun	refer.	synonym	TMA	tokens
321	-12	-11	0	-22	8	-13	5	37
322	-5	-3	-11	-9	0	-13	8	22
3231	-2	-17	1	-20	16	12	2	4
3232	-13	3	-21	-27	3	30	12	6

Table 2: Percentage of additions present in translation versus added during edition.

Adverbs

In all texts, but especially 321 and 3232, there were more adverbs added on purpose, before the process of editing.

Clause

In the three earliest texts, but especially in 321 and 3231, the number of sentences (or parts of sentences) which were added between brackets is larger than the number of additions without brackets.

Explanations

Two texts, 322 and 3231 show a larger number of explanations added between brackets than added without them. This may point to the translator of these manuscripts having a connective attitude.

Nouns

All texts show a higher number of nouns added between brackets than during the process of editing. This shows that in all texts the translator added information to connect to his audience.

References

In 3231 16% of the additions without brackets, and added during the editing process, are references. These were often already present in the earliest manuscripts (321 and 322). This means that the translation was initially made without these references, thus connecting less to the referee.

¹⁰ It is unlikely that a translator would add a token between brackets to improve the text. It is however clear that a token is added during the process of editing.

Synonyms

The oldest texts (321 and 322) show a larger number of nouns added without brackets than those between them. In the two newer texts (321 and 3232) the number of nouns between brackets is much higher. In my opinion this suggests that the translator had a more user friendly perspective. During the process, he already kept in mind which words should be explained for the audience.

TMA

Although not the most frequently used, the addition of TMA-particles is remarkable in the last text (3232). TMA-particles hardly ever appear between brackets, and can therefore be seen as corrections due to auditor design, to connect to Creole speaking auditors. It is remarkable to see that the newest manuscript, which most resembles the printed version (3110), contains most of the TMA-particles during an editing process.

Tokens

As has been already stated above, the insertion of tokens in words is often made as a correction of clerical errors. However, some can easily be seen as signals of a translator in the process of finding the correct form for his audience, mostly his auditors. As expected, in later versions, these additions hardly play a role: I suppose the earlier manuscripts were used as examples or source texts.

Examples of auditor design

The additions between brackets were made whilst the text was being written and so these were made more consciously than the ones which were made during the process of editing. The translator himself knew the item needed clarification and added that immediately. The kinds of additions are mainly the same as the ones without brackets.

Table 3 shows the distribution of additions across the parts of speech.

	321	322	3231	3232
Adjective	3	5	1	0
Adverb/Adv. clause	18	12	2	2
Auxilliary/TMA	1	0	0	0
Clause	20	8	8	0
Conjunction	2	5	0	0
Demonstrative	0	0	1	0
Exclamation	0	1	0	0
Explanation	11	26	10	9
Name	3	5	0	0
Noun	33	23	10	4
Numeral	0	0	2	0
Part	2	2	0	0

Personal pronoun	6	2	2	0
Place	0	2	0	0
Possessive	1	1	0	0
Prefix	1	0	0	0
Preposition	0	3	0	0
Reference	6	9	0	0
Reflexive	1	1	0	0
Synonym	20	34	2	0
TMA	1	0	0	0
Verb	2	5	0	0
Total	131	144	38	15

Table 3: number of occurrences, parts of speech between brackets

It shows that the number of additions decreases in every new translation. Most frequent are the following categories:

Adverbs

- (1) En as sender a kik die Ster (weeraan) (321: 7) ‘And when they saw the star (again)’
- (2) <al> van lang Tid (322:31) ‘<already> from long time’

Clauses

- (3) en <vor see> Die Tid ka raak voll (321: 22) ‘and (to say) the time had become full’
- (4) no ben Waar. (die no gelt.) (321: 21) ‘is not true. (that does not hold.)’

Explanations

- (5) Kephaz; (die ben een Steenklip na ons Taal.) (322: 14) ‘Kephaz; (that is a rock in our language.)’
- (6) en a reis na Galilea. <bm.Maar Em no a kom na Nazareth, voor die rees.> (3231: 20) ‘and travelled to Galilee. <however he did not come to Nazareth, for that purpose.>’

Nouns

- (7) lat die <doode> begrav sender doode (321: 30) ‘let the <dead> bury their dead’, *die* is initially pronoun and becomes an article after the addition of *doode*.
- (8) en na waar (plek) em vaar (321: 17) ‘and where (place) he goes’, *na waar* already means ‘where’. The addition of *plek* concretizes the location. The word *wat plek*, which is also present in twentieth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 71, s.v. *ape*, *api*), seems related.

Synonyms

- (9) a vermaan (bedd) Em (322: 19) ‘urged him’. *Vermaan* is related to German *ermahnen* ‘to urge’, while *bedd* (> D. *bidden*) also means ‘to ask with emphasis’.
- (10) Heiland, (:die Saligmaaker:) (3231: 6) ‘savior’

The number of additions is too large to describe all individual examples, even though the smallest items may present the most interesting considerations of the translators and editors.

12.5 Discussion

Both the translators and the editors, who I presume are the same person, enriched the manuscripts of the Gospel Harmonies in an interesting way. In the first stage, the translators used the German source text and translated it into the Creole language which they knew from the people they were working with. The text was addressed to the slave community of the Danish Antilles and so the language of these slaves must have been learnt by the translators. When items present in the Gospel Harmony were impossible to translate, the translators chose to borrow lexical items from Dutch or High German.

In the 1790-translation 3231 it appears that not only the German source texts, but also the English translation (Lieberkühn 1771) must have been used. The translator showed insight in the changing language situation in the Danish Antilles and did his best to connect to the new, growing, Anglophone community.

During the process of translation, the source text appeared not to be clear enough for missionary work. So, in the manuscripts changes were made to improve the translation. One of these improvements was the addition of clarifying items.

As we saw in the section 12.3, two kinds of addition can be distinguished: firstly, the ones which were made during the process of writing, coded by the writer as clarifying items in the texts. These were surrounded by brackets. In the source texts themselves additions had already been made to clarify the Gospel, and in most cases these were also included in the Creole translations. These additions mainly consist of explanations (28%), nouns (24%), synonyms (11%), adverbs (10%) and clauses (10%).

Secondly, we see additions which were made during the editing process. After writing the text, authors added new elements, for instance to insert forgotten elements, but also to improve the translation afterwards. The most frequently used additions in this category are explanations (20%) and synonyms (10%). However, in the earliest translations (321 and 322), about 48%, and 36% respectively, of all additions are inserted tokens, which were primarily corrections of clerical errors. A remarkable category in the three oldest texts is formed by the references, respectively 16%, 10%, 15% of all additions in 321, 322 and 3231.

These additions were meant to be helpful for the audience of the texts; however, is it clear who the audience was? The addressees were probably the so-called helpers, but were not referred to directly in the additions. The auditors consisted of people who we think were present during services and classes. These would have been not only the Christianized slaves and the ones who were about to be

Christianized, but also missionaries who helped the community and should be able to understand the preached Gospel. Overhearers might have been present, but indicators of overhearer design, for instance the use of explanations, clarifying nouns and synonyms in a second language, are not present in the texts I studied. An audience of eavesdroppers may have played a role, but there are also no indicators for this in the studied manuscripts.

A separate category of audience is formed by the referee. In this case the translator/editor connects to the referee by adding elements which present information, that is not necessary for the readers' or listeners' understanding of the text but relate the text to the source text or related liturgical/missionary texts.

Additions because of referee design are easy to distinguish from all other additions, since most of the time these consist of references to the source texts or remarks for colleagues, sometimes even in German, the language most widely spoken by the missionaries.

A large number of additions can easily be related to the auditors of the translator. Clarifying elements seem always helpful. These simple and often concise interventions show which language should be used to address the audience in the proper way. The use of explanations and synonyms related to missionary items seems obvious, since missionary jargon was often new to the slaves. In the following examples we see clarifying nouns and names placed next to pronouns:

- (1) as (Maria) si Dagen a wees vollend (321: 8) 'when (Mary) her days were ended'
- (2) Em (Jesus) (322: 8) 'He (Jesus)'
- (3) na em die (Dhor) word geopent (321: 25) 'to him the (door) is opened'. Before adding *Dhor*, *die* meant 'it'. Please also note that the Dutch/German use of auxiliary *word* and past participle *geopent*. In Virgin Islands Dutch Creole we expected to see *ka open* 'PRF open'. It makes this sentence less connective to its auditors.

Some independently used adjectives are also clarified by nouns:

- (4) Rechter (hand) (321: 25) 'Right (hand)'
- (5) Die Samaritanse <Vrow> (322: 19) 'The Samaritan <woman>'. In Dutch *Samaritaanse* means 'Samaritan woman'.

One would expect that added synonyms are more Creole/vernacular-like than the original word.

- (6) die Companie, (Karbir) (321: 9)¹¹ 'company, (company)'
- (7) Korn (of: Saathoes) (321: 10) 'granary (or: seed house)'
- (8) Nahkomen (famili) (321: 1) 'descendants (family)'

¹¹ The most striking example of auditor design is the use of *Karbir* 'company' as a synonym of *company*, since this word, or its homophone *carabeer*, was used for persons, who traveled on the same ship (Sp. *Caraba*). See Hesseling (1905: 275-276).

- (9) Skaduwe (Koel-Plek) (322: 22) ‘shadow (cool spot)’
 (10) a Vlucht, <(koeri wee)> (322: 31) ‘PST flee, <(run away)>’

However, in several cases a Creole or vernacular-like word is followed by a Dutch-like synonym or a concise explanation. Perhaps it was not only Creole speakers who needed clarification of European terms and Church-jargon, but also ones who were not fluent in Creole also needed explanation of Creole items. Both types of these additions can even be found in the same texts.

- (11) mattaa (maak dood) (321: 25) ‘kill (make dead)’
 (12) Skepp*:* (of: Kleen Bark) (321: 30) ‘ship (or small barque)’
 (13) hoppo <staan op> (322: 16) ‘get up <stand up>’
 (14) Stoel <Troon> (3231 2) ‘chair <throne>’

In one case the use of additions presents an insight in the considerations of the translator. In section 6 of the Gospel Harmony (Luke 2: 1-21) we find three appearances of ‘crib’:

	321:6	322:6	3231:6	3232:6	315, Luke 2: 1-21	318, Luke 2: 1-21	3110:6
1	Beest Canoe	<lm.[-een]> (Kribbe) [-Beest] [-Canoe]	Beest-Kanoe	Kribbe	Kribbe	Kribbe	Kribbe
2	Beest Canoe	(Beest-Canoe) Kribbe.	Beest-Kanoe	Kribbe	Kribbe	Kribbe	Kribbe
3	Beest Canoe. (Krippe.)	Kribbe (of: Beest(Canoe))	Beest-Kanoe	Kribbe	Kribbe	Kribbe	Kribbe

In the earliest translation (321) only one addition was made in this regard. Missionary jargon *Kribbe* ‘crib’ is obviously referee design since it is descriptive and refers to the shape *Beest Canoe* ‘cattle canoe’ it is possibly more connective to the auditors of the translator. In the following translation (322) however, one occurrence of *Beest Canoe* is replaced by *Kribbe*, the second is placed between brackets, which indicates the second synonym is better and the third is presented as an addition to *Kribbe*. The last occurrence is an example of auditor design, since it explains Christian jargon by adding the descriptive form. The third Moravian translation, 3231, was made by Auerbach to replace the obsolete earlier versions which hardly connected to the community of Creole speakers (see chapter 5 *Metalinguistic comments*). Remarkably only *Beest-Kanoe* is used. In all other versions, including Magens (315, 1781), only *Kribbe* is used.

In one case the addition shows the influence of another language:

- (15) Elle <of een *yard*> (3231: 25) ‘ell <or a yard>’

The use of a language other than Dutch or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole would be an example of overhearer design. Since the influence of English was increasing in the Danish Antilles at the end of the eighteenth century, this example should be seen as auditor design. It is also possible that Dutch related measures, such as Dutch *el* ‘hist. ell, yard’, were replaced by English *yard*.

Part IV

Twentieth century sources

Introduction

The title of this dissertation refers to authenticity of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and the use of philology to study it. This approach is obvious for eighteenth century texts, since we do not have the possibility of studying other material. These texts were written in a variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and should also be studied in relation to contemporary audience design. The twentieth century texts are the written/printed recordings, which were collected from an ethnological and linguistic perspective. This means the researcher did his best to secure the last stage of the language. An important difference is for instance the use of etymological, German/Dutch/Danish related orthography in the eighteenth century, while the twentieth century has an orthography, which records the pronunciation of the language in the best possible way.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was assumed that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was a dead language and already in the second half of the nineteenth century, several scholars announced its demise. Van Name (1871: 159-160) stated: "Until within a few years the Moravian missionaries have preached in this language to the blacks, but they have now abandoned it for a broken English." His informant, Frederico Antonio Camps, lived from his 6th year on in St. Thomas (Van Name 1971: 127). Pontoppidan (1881: 131) writes about the present use of "this soon to become extinct language" (translation by Sabino 2012: 210): "Now [in 1881] creole is nearly gone from St. Croix, also in the city on St. Thomas only some old women are found sporadically who are still familiar with the language. Only in the more remote parts in the country, such as in the missions of the Moravian Brothers at New Herrnhut and Nisky and on the small, deteriorated and half-wild island of St. John it is better maintained. There it is the mother-tongue and colloquial speech of the older generation, which speaks English badly and with difficulty but generally speaks Negerhollands with ease; the younger generation, in contrast, has adopted English and one can say with confidence that the Creole language very soon will be a dead language; in one generation one will only with difficulty still find anyone who can speak it."¹ Nevertheless, Pontoppidan was still able to collect some texts that.

In 1883, Schuchardt received a letter from A. Magens (Schuchardt 1914: 127-142, including notes). He writes (Schuchardt 1914: 126): "I have therefore dealt more closely with Pontoppidan's language samples so that they serve my own as a background. These have the same merits as Hesselings's opinion, namely, that it is the everyday language of the blacks, and that this has been brought to paper in its last stage, before its complete extinction. Perhaps the notes I have received are the

¹ Original text: "Jetzt ist Kreolisch auf St. Croix fast ganz verschwunden, auch, in St. Thomas werden in der Stadt nur noch sporadisch einige alte Weiber gefunden, denen die Sprache noch geläufig ist. Nur auf meht entlegennen Plätzen auf dem Lande, wie in den Missionen der mährischen Brüder zu 'Neu-Herrnhut' und 'Niesky', und auf der kleinen verkommenen und halb verwilderich Insel St. Jan hat sie sich besser erhalten. Sie ist da Mutter- und Umgangssprache der älteren Generation, welche schlecht und mit Schwierigkeit Englisch, aber Platt-Kreolisch mit Geläufigkeit spricht; die Jöngerer dagegen haben Englisch adoptirt, und man kann sicher sagen dass die Kreolensprache sehr bald eine todte Sprache sein wird; in einem Menschenalter wird man schwerlich noch Jemand finden, der es sprechen kann."

last more extensive ones that the Dutch Creole has experienced.”¹ In this letter we read that Magens did not know much of it, however he received help from a girl of an old Creole family.

Hesseling also received information about Dutch Creole as used on St. Thomas. In 1904, Reverend Greider wrote him that the Creole was spoken by “few old people, principally those living in the country districts” (Hesseling 1905: 33-34). The younger spoke a Creole that contained many English words and Greider’s advice was to study the language as it was then spoken immediately.

However, at least three times after Hesseling (1905) the language was recorded. During his archaeological expedition of 1922-1923 De Josselin de Jong had the possibility to also do linguistic fieldwork, which lead to a collection of more than 100 texts and a large dictionary. When Nelson visited the US Virgin Islands in 1936, he found out that there were still speakers of the language and he collected a large vocabulary. From the 1960s on, respectively Gilbert Sprauve, Anne Adams Graves and Robin Sabino had the possibility to hear the language from the last speakers and to learn it from willing informants of whom Mrs. Alice Stevens was the last one to live.

In this part, I focus on the philological and metalinguistic implications of the texts that were gathered in the beginning of the twentieth century. I present information about the texts themselves and the way they were collected and written down. The analysis of De Josselin de Jong’s 1922-1923 diary presents information about his fieldwork in general and his contacts. A closer look at Nelson’s 1936 material and his letters to Den Besten and me also presents insight into the way the texts were collected and a more linguistic view of the vocabulary. Den Besten’s questions to Nelson and his e-mail discussion with Sabino add an extra dimension.

¹ Original text: “Ich bin deshalb auf Pontoppidans Sprachproben näher eingegangen damit sie den meinigen als Hintergrund dienen. Diese haben die gleichen Vorzüge wie nach Hesselings Meinung jene, nämlich dass es sich um die Alltagssprache der Schwarzen handelt und dass die hier in ihrem letzten Stadium, vor ihrem völligen Aussterben zu Papier gebracht worden ist. Möglicherweise sind die mir mitgeteilten Aufzeichnungen die letzten umfänglicheren überhaupt die das Negerholländischen erlebt hat.”

13. Frank G. Nelson's Virgin Islands Dutch Creole wordlists¹

Reinecke's *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (1975) mentions Frank Nelson's Virgin Islands Dutch Creole wordlist from 1936. Since no related material was available between 1926 and 1977, this unpublished wordlist looked very interesting for our anthology *Die Creol Taal* (1996). Den Besten and Nelson corresponded several times about the list, which turned out to be an extract from a longer text in which new native speakers were listed and linguistic items were introduced. The letters contain metalinguistic material, thoughts about the edition and information about Nelson's fieldwork. The diplomatic edition of the complete field notes, with comments in footnotes, was published as a separate digital article (Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013).

'By the way, I am not an historical linguist. I happen to be a syntactician who once in a while is doing some work in Creole studies' (Hans den Besten to Frank Nelson, 27 October 1993).²

13.1 Introduction

13.1.1 Real Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

At the start of 2012, Robin Sabino published an important book on the Virgin Islands' Dutch Creole. In this book, she argued that this Creole language actually consists out of three varieties: the real Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as it was spoken by the African-Caribbean slaves, Hoch Kreol used by the European-Caribbean colonists and the missionary variety used by mainly German missionaries to translate their texts.

Sabino (2012: 202) argues that Hoch Kreol and the widely handed-down evangelical material are not the direct ancestors of the basilectal African-Caribbean Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which has only been written down since the start of the twentieth century (De Josselin de Jong 1926). Now another interesting source of spoken Virgin Islands Dutch Creole has been found, which is dated between De Josselin de Jong (1926)'s materials and the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole which has been recorded since the nineteen sixties. The wordlists which were compiled by Nelson as early as 1936, but were not widely available until some items were presented in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: 262-265). The complete edition

¹ This chapter is the adapted version of Van Rossem (2013a). The following text was the first note of this article: At some point Hans den Besten started collecting as much material as possible regarding Frank Nelson's Virgin Islands Dutch Creole wordlists, but he died on 10 July 2010, before anything could be published. I am honoured to complete his work in this area. I would like to thank Pieter Muysken, not just for his initiative to make sure Hans den Besten's work and the Nelson wordlists will be published, but also for his critical remarks regarding the earlier versions of this article. I would like to thank NWO for the Ph.D. scholarship for teachers which enabled me to complete my article at the Radboud University's Linguistics faculty. Last but not least, I would like to thank Hans Bennis, Robbert van Sluijs, Sarah Scanlon-Nelson, Liesbeth den Besten, Frank Vandervegt, Gilbert Sprauve, Robin Sabino and Hein van der Voort for the interest they have shown and for their help.

² Somewhat of an understatement in my opinion.

was published in Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013) and is included in chapter 14 of this dissertation. These lists contain new material and confirm old forms, which were hitherto unknown.³

Between 1993 and 1999, Nelson corresponded intensively with Hans den Besten, the distinguished expert on West-Germanic and Dutch lexifier contact languages, including Afrikaans, about the fieldwork, the wordlists and their publication. Their correspondence also serves as a surviving eye-witness account, in which we get to know the eight informants, the circumstances surrounding the collection of the language material and the way the wordlists were handed down from generation to generation.

In the next part of this section, I will describe twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in a nutshell. I will discuss the following items in chronological order: the reason for the correspondence (13.2), the search for Nelson – the man behind the wordlists – (13.3) and the start of the correspondence (13.4). The important letter from 1993, in which Nelson sent his detailed field notes, will be discussed in section 13.5. Den Besten does not reply in detail until 1999 (13.7); in the intermediate period, however, I have corresponded briefly with Nelson myself (13.6). My description of Nelson's informants (13.8) and a discussion of the importance of the wordlists for future research (13.9) extend beyond the scope of the correspondence. The publication of the wordlists can be found in chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013).

13.1.2 Twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts

In Hesseling (1905: 33-34) only four sentences show that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was spoken on St. Thomas. In a letter, dated January 1904, bishop Greider of the Moravian Mission indicated:

‘The language in its purity is now spoken by a very few old people, principally those living in the country districts. The younger generation speak a mixed dialect that is called Creole, but it contains very many English words’

In the urban areas English is spoken. There exists however a ‘bastard Creole’ which is spoken by the younger generation. Greider's language samples are the following. Interesting is that the Dutch-like spelling which is added by Hesseling next to Greider's English one, reveals Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as we know it from earlier sources:

How are you? How so you be? [Hoe so joe be?].

How are you feeling this morning? How so you full for da fru-fru? [Hoe so joe voel voor die vroe-vroe?].

I don't feel well this morning. Me no full fri for da fru-fru [Mie no voel vrie voor die vroe-vroe].

We did not have communion last night. Ons no a how ... na die dunku [Ons no a hou ... na die donker].

³ Only a small story from these field notes was published in Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 262-265, 6.2 *Nelson's field notes*.

Greider also indicates that this Creole language as it is spoken at that moment should be studied immediately. No new material was collected until 1923 when J.P.B. Josselin de Jong visited St. Thomas and St. John for an archaeological expedition (see chapter 15). He knew Hesseling (1905) and this might have been the reason for him to also do linguistic fieldwork to study the Creole language. His collection, a bulk of texts and an extensive wordlist, becomes the first publication in which examples of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as spoken by the descendants of the enslaved people. In several sources, his material is recognized as authentic Creole (Sabino 2012: 94-95).

De Josselin de Jong also remarks that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole is dying. When the young American teacher Nelson visits the US Virgin Islands, he is surprised by the existence of a Dutch related Creole, he starts collecting data, just out of interest. Again, it appears as if the last remnants of this language were noted.

When Gilbert Sprauve again found some native speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in the 1960s, De Josselin de Jong's texts can be judged and used as earlier examples of spoken Creole. I consider the following example as the most interesting one. In 1984, Sprauve submitted part of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole version of the Bremen Town Musicians in English to Alice Stevens and asked her to translate it into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Sprauve 1985). Her version could be compared directly with the original Virgin Islands Dutch Creole version which was told to De Josselin de Jong by William Anthony Joshua (St. Thomas, 1923) and which is present in story IV (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 16). De Josselin de Jong (1926: 109) just added the following in his extracts: "Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten" without any variation worth mentioning.⁴ It is Sprauve who translated the text into English to present to Stevens. The transcription of Sprauve and Stevens contributions is mine.

Joshua: Weni am a rak a pāt,
when 3SG PST touch NA road

Sprauve: When the donkey reached the road,

Stevens: Wene de noli a rak de pat

Joshua: am a fin ēn hon.
3SG PSTfind a dog

Sprauve: he find a dog.

Stevens: am a fin en hon.

⁴ Hesseling (1933: 282, note 2) mentions this story: 'for example the history of the town musicians of Bremen, in which the for blacks meaningless word Bremen is preserved, in the hardly changed form Briment'. In one of his letters Nelson explains this odd form from a situation in which this story was read or told to children.

Joshua: Am a sē: wamā ju lō blās sō?
 3SG PSTsay why 2SG DUR blow so

Sprauve: He say why you are blowing like that?

Stevens: Am a se: huso ju blaas le, huso ju blaas so?⁵

Joshua: Də hont sē: mi mēstər lō lō mata mi.
 the dog say 1SG master FUT go kill 1SG

Sprauve: The hound say, my master will kill me.

Stevens: De hon a see mi meestə lo mata mi.

Joshua: Di noli sē: kō lō mi mi a Briment.
 the donkey saycome go with 1SG NA Bremen

Sprauve: so the noli say come go with me to Briment.

Stevens: ko lo mi mi a Briment.

Joshua: Den di twē fa sinə a wandə maṅkandə.
 then the two of 3SG PST walk together

Sprauve: Then the two of them walk together

Stevens: de twe fan senu a wandu mankandu

Joshua: Sini a fin ēn pusi.
 3SG PST find a cat

Sprauve: They find a cat.

Stevens: Sen a fin een pushi.

Joshua: Sini a frā am,
 3SG PSTask 3SG

Sprauve: They ask him

Stevens: Sen a fra am.

Joshua: wa am lō du.
 what 3SG go do

Sprauve: what you('re) doing?⁶

Stevens: wa ju lo du?

Joshua: Am sē, am mi too hou.⁷
 3SG say 3SG 1SG too old

Sprauve: He say, I too old

Stevens: Am a see mi tu hou.

⁵ Sprauve then asks Stevens: 'Could he have said it another way? You say *huso*, I mean, how you blow like that. Stevens replies: '*howso*'. Sprauve was of course interested in the difference between *wa ma* and *huso*.

⁶ Sprauve and Stevens use 2SG.

⁷ I think De Josselin de Jong should have placed the comma after *am*. The original sentence means literally: 'He says, he is too old', however I think it should be: 'He told him: I (am) too old. The homonym *mi* can be used as 1SG and as auxiliary 'to be'.

Joshua: Am nə kan fañ roto numē.
 3SG NEG can catch rat no more
 Sprauve: I can't catch rat no more.
 Stevens: mi no can fing roto intin.⁸

Several differences in this comparison are of interest. Joshua used *wamā* (>D. *wat maak* 'what makes') for 'why', while Stevens used *huso* (>D. *hoezo* 'why'). Stevens' use is strange, since Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *hoeso* often, not to say always means 'how'. Suffix *so* indicates emphasis and the use of *hoeso/hoezo* 'how' is absent in Dutch (Van Rossem 1993), while the use of 'why' is common. Another difference is Joshua's use of *numē* 'no more' (>D. *niet meer* 'no more'), while Stevens uses the Danish derived version *intin*, which appears as *ēntēn* 'no more' (>Da. *ingenting*) in De Josselin de Jong (1923: 78), Nelson's wordlists (chapter 14, l. 422, 666, 667, 735 and 1221) and Sabino (2012: 247).

During fieldwork and interviews of Sprauve, Adams Graves and Sabino Virgin Islands Dutch of native speakers could finally be studied. The example above shows that comparison with the early twentieth century texts can be of use to complete the picture of authentic Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

13.2 Introduction to the correspondence

Reinecke's enormous *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* from 1975 mentions 'Negerhollands: Virgin Islands Creole Dutch' in chapter 58:

'Nelson, Frank G. Words and short texts in Negerhollands, gathered in St. Thomas, June 1936' (Reinecke 1975: 320, no. 31).

With the additional remark 'Copy in Univ. Of Hawaii library, John E. Reinecke correspondence'.

That this wordlist was conserved in the collection of John E. Reinecke should have piqued our interest, simply because Nelson's list was only one year older than Reinecke's important work *Marginal Languages* from 1937. In it, he devoted one entire chapter to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Reinecke 1937) and the Nelson's list could of course have served as a source. Unfortunately, it took us some time before we could fully appreciate the true value of the remark. Furthermore, during the period leading up to the publication of *Die Creol Taal*, we did not know which role Reinecke had played in handing down Nelson's lists. Moreover, we did not have a clear picture of who Nelson really was, what his connection was to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and what his interest was in collecting the material.

A source from 1936 also proved to be somewhat of a missing link. During the first couple of months of 1923, the Leyden anthropologist De Josselin de Jong took an enormous amount of notes on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which was in his

⁸ Sprauve then asks confirmation by saying 'no mo?', however Stevens confirms 'intin'. Her form is derived from Danish *ingenting* 'nothing', while *no mo* is derived from English *no more*.

opinion already dying out.⁹ It was only in the nineteen sixties and seventies that Gilbert Sprauve (1976) and Anne Victoria Adams Graves (1977) would interview the last six speakers. One of these six, Mrs. Alice Stevens, would prove to be a great help to Gilbert Sprauve and Robin Sabino (1990) in making the last recordings and taking the last notes on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole during the eighties. Each source between 1923 and the early seventies actually adds to our knowledge of this most frequently described Dutch lexifier Creole language.

Nelson's work had never been published and therefore deserved to be included in our anthology *Die Creol Taal* from 1996. This was the reason why Hans den Besten contacted the university library of Hawaii in 1993.

Nelson's short wordlist, his extensive field notes and the comments primarily made by Hans den Besten had been published diplomatically on the website of *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013), and is included in this dissertation as chapter 14. In this article, I will give a detailed account of the search for the original wordlists and the correspondence between those parties involved. It has been a true quest, which has not even been completed entirely to our satisfaction, since the original manuscript has been close at hand, but unfortunately always remained out of sight.

13.3 The quest

On 14 June 1984, Hans den Besten sent a letter to the library of the University of Hawaii to ask for a copy of Nelson's text. He referred to Reinecke's bibliography (1975) and indicated that only little is known about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and that the language was almost extinct. The publication of *Papers on Negerhollands, the Dutch Creole of the Virgin Islands, Amsterdam Creole Studies IX* (Den Besten 1986) was probably the reason for writing this letter. Den Besten was the editor of this collection of articles. In any event, during the period of 1983-1986 a lot was written about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, but unfortunately I do not know whether or not there was already a plan in place for writing an article on Nelson's text at that time.

On 22 June 1984, the Hamilton Library sent Hans den Besten a copy of Nelson's text, eight pages typed on A4 paper.

During the period from 1991 leading up to 1995, Hein van der Voort and I collected all kinds of texts in and on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole for the Negerhollands Project led by the Linguistics faculty of the University of Amsterdam. All references were checked and we together with our colleagues copied and preserved as many publications and manuscripts as possible.¹⁰ At the same time, we digitalised as many eighteenth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts and collected the most representative texts for our anthology *Die Creol Taal* (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996).

As it was our intention to present the reader of the anthology with an overview of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole from the first word until the last, we also searched for material that had not been published yet. In this way we were able to supplement the

⁹ The textual material of De Josselin de Jong originated from nine different individuals (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 7). I will discuss this in further detail in 13.8 and chapter 15.

¹⁰ This project was financed by both NWO and KNAW.

eighteenth-century material with writings that were discovered after 1989 in the Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut and it enabled Sprauve and Sabino to make an important contribution by means of the transcripts of their recordings of the last speaker. The anthology should of course include Nelson's text as well, or at least part of it and that is why Den Besten sent another letter to the Hamilton Library on 5 October 1993, almost ten years after the first one.

'Lectori Salutem! In June 1984 you were so kind to send me a photocopy (...) This copy has been very helpful for the local people working on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, also known as Negerhollands. Now I would like to approach you with two requests for permission for publication.'

The reply was extraordinary. In a fax dated 18 October 1993, Eleonore C. Au, Head, Special Collections/Librarian, Tsuzaki/Reinecke Creole Collection, wrote the following:

'I have just received your request regarding the Frank G. Nelson notes. Since Mr. Nelson is still alive, I am asking him to grant you the permission for publication, if he so desires. I am forwarding a copy of your request to him at his home in Hilo, Hawai'i.'

During our research into Nelson's material, we never researched the person behind the notes and that resulted in this rather unusual situation. Eleonore Au continued:

'By telephone this morning, he tells me that he is very interested in contacting you, since he may have other information that he has gathered since 1936.'

This of course piqued our interest. The last paragraph of her letter, however, deserves to be mentioned as well:

'Since our copy has been misplaced, I am happy to hear that you will try to make the Nelson manuscript more readily available.'

This is the reason why the first text which is included in chapter 14/Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013), the diplomatic edition of Nelson's lists, is the version of Nelson's wordlist which was in Hans den Besten's possession, including his notes.

13.4 Start of the correspondence

On 20 October 1993, Frank Nelson sent his first letter to Hans den Besten. All his letters were mechanically typed or written by hand. First, he commented on the missing typescript and he expressed his hope that Den Besten would send a copy of the text he received in 1984 to the Hamilton Library. The letters do not show whether Den Besten did indeed send a copy.

Nelson agreed to the publication of his wordlists in his own unique way:

'Meanwhile, I am most happy to grant you, the Institute for General Linguistics, and any others who may be concerned my full permission to use this material

without further notice, let or hindrance, from this time on, in part or in toto, so long as grass is green and rivers run into the sea. (I trust this rigmarole covers all copyright laws in the Netherlands, the U.S.A. and in partitus infidelium.) Frankly I am both pleased and surprised that these obviously amateurish notes, taken so long ago with no thought of publication, should interest anyone after nearly three score years. But habent fata sua libelli.¹¹

And then he went on to describe the start and the process of note-taking.

'In 1935-36 I took time out from my study towards a doctorate in English at the University of California in Berkeley to take a teaching position in Puerto Rico. Since the Virgin Islands were so close I decided to visit them before returning to Continental United States. That was less than twenty years since the U.S. have bought the islands from Denmark [in 1917, CvR] and I was surprised to discover that everyone there except the French-speaking 'chachas' of St. Thomas spoke some kind of English – ranging from Standard to a thick local dialect – and that Danish had virtually disappeared except as the family language of a few remaining Danish families. The only Danish words that seemed in com-mon use were skaal and bil (Danish for automobile). I knew a little Danish (or, rather, the old Dano-Norwegian of Holberg and Ibsen) and was curious whether it had ever been widely used. An elderly gentleman told me that it had always been limited to official business and household use among the Danish residents and that none of the Blacks had ever spoken it except a few house servants who had picked up a smattering – and that there were not many of them. But he did say that in his boyhood before the turn of the century a number of very old Black people still spoke what he called 'Creole' – by now, he thought, completely extinct.

This piqued my curiosity, and I managed to find a few quite old people on St. Thomas and St. Croix (I didn't visit St. John) who said they remembered a little so I jotted down what I could get out of them. (One rather prim old lady said that she had once known a number of songs in Creole but she wouldn't sing them for me 'because she was now a good Christian' and I had to be satisfied with a half-Creole half-English version of 'Three Blind Mice' in which (if I remember rightly), the farmer's wife used to 'kap off they stet wit' a gebrooite mes'.¹²

I had no training in linguistics or oral transcription so I had to improvise. The English consonants seemed to work fairly well, at least to my unsubtle ear, but the English vowels and diphthongs were obviously too ambiguous to use, so I fell back upon what had been drilled into me as their values in Anglo-Saxon when I was wrestling with Beowulf (the poem, not the hero) back in Berkeley. These were, after all, only rough notes for my own personal use.

But just before I left St. Croix I mentioned what I had been doing to the Superintendent of Schools there and he remarked that by coincidence he had just received an inquiry about Creole from a John Reinecke in New Haven and asked

¹¹ I have only corrected the most obvious typos in all of the quotations.

¹² 'Three Blind Mice' is a well-known English nursery rhyme that was published for the first time in 1805. The sentence quoted by Nelson means: 'cut off their tail with a cleaver'. *Gebrooite* is *gebrāta*, 'roast' in the edition.

me to answer it. I hastily typed up the material I had collected and mailed it off to him, adding that I would probably be a few days in New England before returning to California and would be glad to stop off in Connecticut to meet him. I did, and found out that he was a graduate student at Yale, working on a thesis which became the pioneering study of Hawaiian Pidgin. Reinecke suggested that I ought to do something about Virgin Islands Creole. But I had my doctorate to finish first [...].'

From now on, I will call the short wordlist, which was mentioned in Reinecke (1975) and of which Den Besten received a copy in 1984, the Reinecke list¹³. Later letters have shown that Nelson sent his observations in writing (Nelson's letter, 1 September 1999). After all, he did not have a typewriter at his disposal on the Virgin Islands (Nelson's letter, 2 March 1999). The typescript which was preserved in the Hawaii archives was a version of Nelson's writing, typed out by a young John Reinecke. In 1963, Reinecke told Nelson that a copy of his letter had found its way into the Reinecke archives of the University library of Hawaii (Nelson's letter, 2 March 1999). This explains some obscurities in the Reinecke list which will be discussed further in the diplomatic edition (chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013).

In the chapter 'The Negro Dutch of the Danish Antilles' of his famous work *Marginal Languages* (Reinecke 1937), Reinecke briefly discusses Nelson.

'Even today the Creole linguistics community is not quite extinct. Nelson, in 1936, secured from two or three old people on St. Thomas a considerable vocabulary and two short texts' (Reinecke 1937: 408).

Nelson's notes will show that he did not speak with two or three, but with eight informants. Moreover, three of them originated from the island St. Croix and one of them from St. John. In a footnote, Reinecke continues:

'Mr. Nelson was on St. Thomas in June, 1936. In August he had a conversation with the present writer and lent him his notes, which include a vocabulary, several sentences, a translation of 'Three Blind Mice'. And a song sung by carousers on Christmas Eve' (Reinecke 1937: 421).

On the last page of Reinecke's bibliography (1937: 425), Nelson's material is included on the reference list as follows: 'Mr. Frank NELSON, of 611 N. 23rd Street, St. Joseph, Missouri, very kindly lent the writer texts which he gathered during the summer of 1936'.

Nelson did not, however, just visit St. Thomas during his two-week holiday. Interestingly enough, he did not visit St. John, but instead visited St. Croix. This is an interesting fact since previous researchers hardly paid any attention to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole spoken on the latter island.

In the next paragraph of the letter dated 20 October 1993, Nelson described what had happened at his return to Berkeley:

¹³ Nelson also called it the 'Reinecke material' (Nelson's letter, 23 October 1993).

‘Meanwhile, I had shown my wordlist to a couple of fellow-students in Berkeley. Even with my limited knowledge of Danish I noticed that while a few words in Creole were obviously borrowed from Danish that more of them, while they might be recognizable to a Dane with a little linguistic imagination, seemed to come from some other language closely cognate to Danish in both form and meaning but with a different sound system. I suspected at first that this language might be Plattdeutsch (which I knew of but didn’t know) for two reasons: many of the ‘Danes’ in the Virgin Islands in the 18th and 19th Centuries came from Sleswig Holstein, and the Moravian missionaries who translated the Bible into Creole may have been from Protestant North Germany. But one of my friends who knew Dutch suggested it, though he said it ‘looked like very old-fashioned Dutch which had been run through a sausage-grinder’. With the help of a good English-Dutch dictionary (since we had to work from meaning rather than sound) we were able to identify the original Dutch behind most of the vocabulary. But I had to let the matter rest there.’

Nelson had shown a keen interest in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, but he was interested in many things, a fact clearly demonstrated by his bibliography. Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was no longer his primary interest, but it was preserved in his library.

Nelson goes on to give a short description of his research trip to Norway in the fall of 1939. When the Nazis invaded Norway in the spring of 1940, he was not able to leave the country. The Gestapo arrested him, because they suspected he had ill intentions and he was jailed for some months. Just before America got involved in the Second World War, the American government succeeded in getting Nelson released and back to his home country. Oddly enough, this was the time in which he was yet again briefly reminded of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Nelson writes that he was not physically abused and that he was even allowed to read books. The available literature was limited to what his guards selected from the rather arbitrary collection of light prose and religious texts taken from the former police station in Oslo.

‘But one day one of the less nasty guards told me he had found me a book in English, and I hadn’t the heart to tell him that *De Twee Neven*¹⁴ wasn’t when he brought it to me. So in the next two weeks, using what I remembered of Virgin Islands Creole as my Rosetta Stone, I worked out the appropriate fates of the good and bad cousin and incidentally learned to read Dutch on an eight or nine year old level’ (Nelson’s letter, 20 October 1993).

When Nelson was offered a post at the English faculty of the new University of Hawaii in Hilo during the mid-sixties of the last century (in 1963, according to a letter written in 1999), he met Reinecke again while visiting Honolulu. Reinecke told Nelson at the time that he had given a copy of Nelson’s letter to be preserved in

¹⁴ The teen novel *De Twee Neven* (1890) was the first novel written by C. Joh. Kieviet (1858-1931), who became famous for his *Dik Trom*-stories.

the archives of the University of Hawaii. The letters do not show us whether they have ever talked about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole again, but they do show us that Reinecke told Nelson just before he died (in 1982) that he had met Gilbert Sprauve at a conference in the Caribbean. The latter was supposed to have found some last speakers of the Creole language on St. John. Now we know that Gilbert Sprauve (prof. em. University of US Virgin Islands) worked intensively with the last six speakers to record the last remainders of the language. Sprauve has asked Reinecke for information on Nelson's informants. Nelson sent this information, but unfortunately, he never received a reply.

In the last part of the letter, Nelson still expressed amazement at the fact that a Creole language which had seemed destined to become extinct in the thirties, still existed in the eighties. He compared it to the discovery of the Coptic-speaking community in Egypt. He clearly was elated his notes from back then received this amount of attention.

On 27 October 1993, Hans den Besten received Nelson's letter and he replied the same day. He wrote that we, the compilers of *Die Creol Taal*, were very happy to finally know who the mysterious Frank G. Nelson was. Right after he received the letter, Den Besten contacted Hein van der Voort and me to let us know that Frank Nelson was still alive and gave us permission for publication.

Den Besten pointed out that his copy of the wordlist was already full of notes, but that he would send a copy to Eleonore Au (head special collections of the Tsuzaki/Reinecke Creole Collection).

He also wrote to let Nelson know the importance of his wordlist to *Die Creol Taal* and placed it within the scope of the study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on the timeline between De Josselin de Jong and Sprauve/Adams Graves/Sabino. He also mentioned that we were still waiting for the texts Sabino and Sprauve would provide for *Die Creol Taal*. He went on by quoting a couple of examples which showed, that even at first glance, all kinds of interesting words were written down by Nelson. He even gave a detailed account of his ideas for an edition dedicated to the wordlist:

'To give you one example: often typewritten n stands for a handwritten k as in nesto:n 'kerchief' which must be nesto:k or nestu:k in view of what has been reported elsewhere and in view of the etymology (Dutch neusdoek).'

When Den Besten sends this letter, another important message by Nelson is already on its way to Amsterdam. On Saturday 23 October 1993, Nelson wrote:

'I feel like the newspaper reporter in old-time films who yelled 'Stop the press!' At a crucial moment, but I hope that this letter doesn't upset you and your colleagues' work on Virgin Islands Creole unduly or delay publication. The situation is this:

I had scarcely gotten my letter off to you giving permission to use the Reinecke material when the thought struck me that I just might have some of my original field notes from 1936 among the detritus of a lifetime I've never found time to sort or destroy. Sure enough, after only a full day's search I found the little notebook which I used in 1936 for, among other things, my often off-the-

cuff interviews with Virgin Islanders who knew at least a little Creole. To my amazement, it contained a wealth of material – variant forms, names of informants, fairly long bits of connected speech, etc. – which I am sure my more selective and partially-edited wordlist for John Reinecke does not have.’

The Reinecke list, the eight-page long typescript of which Den Besten had received a copy in 1984, was only an extract of a larger far more interesting whole. Nelson’s letter stated he had kept a notebook with his field notes and that he was willing to send it to us. This meant there was far more information available on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in 1936 than we had previously known. At that time, however, Den Besten had already entered the Reinecke list as a computer file and rearranged the words and provided the list with translations and comments in order to facilitate further research.¹⁵ The new material, however, proved to be indispensable for a publication of Nelson’s work. Nelson continued his letter:

‘Normally I would be most happy to send you my original notes in the notebook which contains them. But much of my writing is legible only to myself and the interviews are scattered among other entries dealing with irrelevant matters. And, to make matters worse, the notebook itself is in sad shape – chewed by bookworms and cockroaches in spots and with the yellowed pages already so brittle and fragile that I doubt they will survive the century.

So I am spending this week-end making a careful and conscientious transcript of all the V.I. Creole entries and I hope to have it ready to send to you when the post-office opens Monday. (It’s closed today, but there’s still time to get this out).’

This passage displays a sense of haste and urgency on Nelson’s side. The work he did subsequently later proved to be a godsend, albeit only in 1999.

13.5 The letter of 24 October 1993: typescript of field notes 1936

A day later, on 24 October 1993, Nelson already wrote the important letter accompanying the typed out notes from 1936. Den Besten received the package of twenty pages five days later. The notes are eleven A4 pages long and are a more-or-less diplomatic rendition of what was in Nelson’s notebook. The text has been included in chapter 14 and Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013).

In the letter itself Nelson wrote that this list had been the source for the report sent to Reinecke. The second paragraph of the letter described exactly what we could expect from the way in which Nelson displayed his list:

¹⁵ By entering the lists in all kinds of different ways, in order to rearrange them and comment on them Den Besten was able to get a feel for Nelson’s wordlists. He has indicated whether or not several words were previously unknown or whether the forms with regards to their sounds are improbable. These comments have been incorporated in the diplomatic edition (chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013). The lists show that he was constantly reviewing the forms of words, their origin and the connection between them while typing. Den Besten’s Virgin Islands Dutch Creole textual legacy is incorporated in *Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, archive of Hans den Besten*.

'Here they are, as carefully as I can copy them – with all my mistakes, inconsistencies and repetitions, just as I wrote them (often in pencil) in a little pocket notebook now falling apart. As a concession to readability I have consistently given the English meaning first and the Creole equivalent second, and have added capitals and punctuation. But I have made no other editorial changes except to add a few explanatory notes typed in red to distinguish them from my original notes. I have left uncorrected even quite obvious mistakes of ear or pen and conscientiously recorded my amateurish, sporadic and often inaccurate attempts to indicate vowel lengths and accents.'

Den Besten took a very critical look at the list as I will show later on in this contribution, after which Nelson made several changes, notwithstanding the reservations mentioned above. After a period in which other work, such as the publication of *die Creol Taal* in 1996, was the point of focus, Den Besten sent Nelson a list with 96 questions on 12 February 1999. These questions, with answers and remarks made by Nelson (Nelson's letter, 2 March 1999), were included as footnotes.

Nelson hoped to be in time to help us publish the text. Moreover, he gave the faculty of General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam permission to publish some or all of the material any which way. He probably intended to enable us to incorporate the text in *Die Creol Taal*. At that moment, however, we had already decided to use a song, a rhyme and a short story from the Reinecke list for our anthology, so no individual words. In his letter of 2 November 1993, Den Besten explained that the wordlists needed to be published as an individual edition. More on this later on in this article.

The last paragraph of the letter shows Nelson enjoying the sudden attention for his notes.

'But I mustn't divert you from finishing any work you have already laid out. I would like to enjoy my allotted 'five minutes of fame' while I can. It had already been a boost to my spirits to learn that something which I did out of idle curiosity nearly three score years ago and had long since forgotten should suddenly attract international attention.'

The last sentence of this letter is in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole: *Me ka se yo gono fanda asta menda. Yo kan skrif yo buk ut fra di!* In English: 'I have told you plenty this afternoon. Now you are able to write your book well/write a good book.' Nelson quoted some contributions of Henrietta Anton, recorded in his fieldwork notes (see chapter 17).

On 2 November, Hans den Besten replied that he would give the text to Hein van der Voort and me, so we could decide what to use in *Die Creol Taal*. Den Besten wanted to incorporate all the material collected by Nelson in an individual edition. He had three reasons for doing so. The first one, and in my opinion the most important one, was the fact that creolists had already used the wordlist in Reinecke (1975) as a reference. The second reason had to do with the way in which the notes were taken, which to me does not seem to be a clear reason for publication, although it is a reason for further research. The last reason was that the two lists, the short one

taken from Reinecke (1975) and the long one taken from the letter of 24 October 1993, need to be compared in order to see how the Reinecke list was established. Den Besten goes on by writing that he will try to publish the material within the year 1994, and that he might be able to publish it in *Amsterdam Creole Studies*.

After these first paragraphs, the letter continues with a page full with comments on the long list (from now on the Nelson list). Den Besten merely wanted to show why this list is so interesting. I will summarise the comments below:¹⁶

- Initially none of the informants seem to be related to those of De Josselin de Jong (1926) or Anne Adams Graves (1977). Moreover, De Josselin de Jong visited St. Thomas and St. John, whereas Nelson visited St. Thomas and St. Croix.
- There are a couple of strange forms in the Reinecke list, such as *neston* 'handkerchief', which appears in the Nelson list (l. 729) in its usual form *nestok*. In these cases Den Besten enquires after possible inaccuracies or choices being made during the fieldwork.
- Certain forms seem ambiguous, but are easily interpreted when one has some knowledge of older forms of Dutch.
- The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole version of *Our Father* looks more like a Dutch version of *Our Father*.
- The form *melelek* can be explained by *me* 'be' and *lelek* 'ugly'.
- Den Besten briefly turns to the forms *ne* and *nen* for 'no'. The form *nen* was probably used in order to be able to distinguish it from *ne* 'take'.
- Virgin Islands Dutch Creole *bo* does not derive from the Danish *paa* 'on, at', but from the Dutch *boven* 'above'.

At the end of his letter, Hans den Besten stressed how happy we were with Nelson's material and that it might have been collected out of curiosity, but that it has been referred to as a source in Reinecke (1975) and is being preserved in the Hamilton Library in Honolulu, Hawaii. Den Besten ends his letter in Dutch!

On 7 November 1993, Nelson wrote back that there are still some typos and changes in interpretation and that the list is in need of some alterations. He felt like Robinson Crusoe, since he did not have anyone to share this with on Hawaii. He did, however, have a Dutch friend with whom he could talk about Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and who thought that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole made Afrikaans look like Standard Dutch.¹⁷

The paragraph before last shows us how close we came to meeting Nelson: 'Again, I ramble. Too bad I didn't know about your work when I was in the Netherlands with my great-grandson in the summer of '92'.

Nelson wrote his next letter a week after the first one, on November 1993. In the first paragraphs he focused on some etymologies during which he gave away,

¹⁶ These comments, but also all other comments on the Nelson list made in letters to Frank Nelson, have been included in chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013)

¹⁷ Nelson also briefly revisited the information on Sprauve he had received from Den Besten.

completely according to his own smooth style, his age in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole: *fiskeling en ses* (86).

Nelson's subsequent remarks were about the Danish and Norse sailors who travelled along on the Dutch seventeenth- and eighteenth-century merchant fleet. He thought it very likely that these Scandinavians, who were possibly bilingual Norse/Danish-Dutch, went ashore in Charlotte Amalie¹⁸ and in this way made their mark. According to Nelson, the Norse-American historian Kenneth Bjork has even seen ancient Norse graves on the US Virgin Islands. Nelson suggested that Sprauve might be able to check church archives. Moreover, there might have even been Norse plantation owners.¹⁹

Nelson did not contact Den Besten again until 22 March 1994. In this short letter he announced the visit of his friend dr. Frank Vandervegt²⁰ to Amsterdam. In Nelson's next letter of 15 May he writes that he was very happy with the issues of *Amsterdam Creole Studies* he received from Den Besten via VanderVegt. Nelson especially appreciated Miep van Diggelen's article (Van Diggelen 1978).

In this letter he also focused on a question which had been on his mind for a long time: how is it possible that a Dutch-based Creole language was spoken on the Virgin Islands during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, but had lost its position to English long before the United States bought the islands?²¹ He gave examples of the predilection of the Virgin Islanders for Denmark: a former teacher of the Virgin Islands who was given the opportunity to continue his work in the Danish countryside after the Americans took over, and a Danish girl from the Virgin Islands who talks about a tradition going on for generations in which families on the Virgin Islands give their children Danish names, whereas English had long become *lingua franca*. He thought the story he was told by someone he met on St. Croix in 1936 was even more interesting, the person in question told him he still kept a picture of the Danish king on the wall. With these examples in mind, it surprised him even more that he could not find any more examples of Danish influences in the article by Van Diggelen.

In the last paragraphs of this letter he revisited his own fieldwork and what he had read in Van Diggelen's contribution to *Amsterdam Creole Studies* (Van Diggelen 1978):

'I was rather pleased to discover that many of the same words and occasional phrases which he²² cites from other sources agree with ones also on my 1936

¹⁸ Capital city of St. Thomas.

¹⁹ Once again Nelson ends his letter with a critical remark, this time addressed to those who want to reintroduce the distinct language. He also displays his sense of humour once again as he writes that he expects Sinterklaas will appreciate our activities!

²⁰ Prof. Frank Vandervegt (Wayne State University) tells me in his emails of 12 and 13 March 2012, that Nelson even proposed to organise a course in Dutch at the University of Hawaii in order to better prepare the students for the study of Dutch influences in the Pacific. In his email of 19 March 2012 he writes that while cleaning his garage he found a list with creole words by Nelson. It happens to be the Nelson list with a couple of adjustments, which I included in chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013).

²¹ In 1917.

²² Van Diggelen, CvR. Nelson thinks Miep is a men's name.

wordlist in both sound and meaning – in spite of the fact that his sources were apparently transcripts made by persons familiar with Dutch and the conventions of Dutch orthography, while I made my notes in my home-made ‘Anglo-Saxon’ phonetics and was not only completely ignorant of Dutch but was looking in vain for some traces of Danish! At least, no one can accuse me of hearing what I wanted to hear!’

On 31 May 1994, Den Besten wrote a short letter to Nelson, in which he touches upon the name *Miep*, the use of the word *blanke* ‘white person’ in South Africa and in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

In 1996 Den Besten exchanged several emails with Sabino.²³ She is an expert when it comes to the phonology of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and the African elements in this language, and has worked closely with Alice Stevens, the last remaining speaker of this language. On 29 July of this year, Sabino sent me a copy of an email dated 19 August 1999. This email shows they already discussed Nelson’s wordlist on 10 July the same year. Sabino and Den Besten discussed eight annotations on consonants and seven on vowels in the Reinecke list. These annotations have been incorporated in chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem (2013). It is remarkable that Den Besten sent Sabino the Reinecke list of only eight pages instead of the eighteen-page abstract of all of Nelson’s field notes.

13.6 Correspondence between Nelson and Van Rossem 1996-1997

On 18 July 1996, Nelson sent his first letter to me. It was just after I had sent him a copy of *Die Creol Taal* and Nelson really appreciated this. He thought it was fantastic to be able to follow the genesis of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and he was also very happy to see his own field notes in print, ‘like flies in amber’.²⁴ He also dedicated one paragraph to our decision to use English in the glosses instead of Dutch or German. The study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole triggered something more in Nelson. Now, with more material at his disposal, he was also able to turn his attention to the texts published by De Josselin de Jong, which were collected a mere ten years before his own visit to the US Virgin Islands. He has, for example, a clear theory on the use of the name *Brimint* (Bremen) as far as the spelling and pronunciation are concerned. Nelson hypothesized that the speaker had heard the text spoken out loud in English (by a nanny for example). The first <e> in the word *Bremen*, becomes in the English pronunciation <i>, similar to De Josselin de Jong’s spelling.²⁵

²³ The most informative email is one which Hans den Besten sent to Robin Sabino on 22 August 1996. In it Den Besten answers some questions Sabino had with regards to the Reinecke list.

²⁴ *Die Creol Taal* was the first anthology to publish fragments, instead of individual words, from the Reinecke list (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 262-265). It also contained an announcement for a separate publication of the list.

²⁵ Nelson also had a special request. Since I lived in Arnhem, he wondered whether I would be so kind as to present a copy to the Sanders family. He met the family under special circumstances in Venezuela during the sixties. The daughter talked about a flower in Dutch. Nelson recognised this word from Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and started talking to her family about it. He often used this situation as an example in his lectures in order to show

The second page of the letter was typed on a photocopy of a page of Nelson's field notes. He mentioned that fact briefly and indicated that he had sent Den Besten a complete typescript. He went on to point out the use of the Greek <ε> alongside the 'regular' <e> and added that there is no difference in phonetic value. The difference was not known to Reinecke and therefore the ε is present in the Reinecke list.

The letter I wrote as a reply has unfortunately been lost, but I must have talked with him about the reception of *Die Creol Taal*. In the months following publication we received a lot of positive feedback, we were invited to talk on the radio about our book and even newspapers and magazines published background articles on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In his letter of January 1997, Nelson wrote that he really liked the fact that this time around Virgin Islands Dutch Creole did not just attract the attention of the scientific community, but also the attention of the 'regular' press. He is also wondering when Den Besten will publish the wordlists. Since I had already left Amsterdam by that time, and was working as a teacher in Arnhem, I could not provide him with an answer to his question at that time.

13.7 Preparation for the publication of the wordlists 1999

There has not been any contact between Nelson and us between 1997 and 1999. The first preserved letter from Den Besten to Nelson, dated 12 February 1999, shows that Den Besten studied the Nelson list in detail during that time. In a rather elaborate letter to Nelson, Den Besten referred to a letter he sent on 8 February. The importance of these letters is, that they illustrate the fact that Den Besten, more than two years after he received Nelson's typescript of his comprehensive wordlist, was busy preparing for a special edition of *Amsterdam Creole Studies* dedicated to Nelson's wordlists. The faculty had provided him with the funds for publishing the wordlist as a special edition, since he did not think a publication in a magazine would be possible considering the length of the wordlist. Den Besten uttered harsh criticism with regards to the changes within the university that make it virtually impossible to continue series such as *Amsterdam Creole Studies* and he reported that the dean of the faculty had asked him to contact Amsterdam University Press to take over *Amsterdam Creole Studies*. The majority of this letter, however, consisted out of 96 remarks and questions Den Besten asked Nelson with regards to spelling, the organization of the transcripts, the use of red ink and the details in the transcript. These comments are included in the edition in chapter 14. He left some open space to enable Nelson to write down his comments. On 2 March, Nelson replied by sending a photocopy of Den Besten's text with comments virtually everywhere. In the accompanying two-page letter Nelson focused among other things on his writing. On the use of vowels, he wrote:

'As for the vowels – that is another matter. I was not trained in phonetica in '36 (and am not really now, for that matter). But before I went to Puerto Rico on a short term teaching assignment in 1932-33 and made a short trip to the Virgin

how useful trivial knowledge can be. I visited this family and they gave me an undated article which described how Nelson received a decoration from king Carl Gustaf XVI of Sweden. It also contained a short biography of Nelson (Anonymous 1979).

Islands, I had just finished a course on Beowulf at the University of California. Hence my remark 'Vowels as in Anglo-Saxon' in my letter to John Reinecke, who was then a student at Yale and had written to the Superintendent of Schools in St. Croix asking for information about V.I. Creole. Just by chance I happened to meet the Superintendent just after Reinecke's letter arrived and he asked me to answer it. Only years later, after I moved to Hawaii, did I finally run into Reinecke in Honolulu, and he told me he had given a copy of my letter to the University Library there.

My original letter to Reinecke, in '36, must have been handwritten, since I had no type-writer at my disposal. At the time, and that surely accounts for the mysterious Greek in his typescript (...).'

Another passage taken from this letter shows that Nelson, now he had the anthology *Die Creol Taal* at his disposal, was studying Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in detail. He noticed, for example, that the language in Kingo's eighteenth-century wordlist (Kingo 1770), had hardly changed over two centuries. There seems to be precious little contamination by English or Danish, although the speakers of the Creole language were in contact with these languages on a daily basis.

In a P.S., Nelson once again pointed out he did not take a professional approach towards fieldwork:

"Please remember if anybody asks that I took my notes on Creole in 1936 only for the fun of it, on a two week vacation trip to the Virgin Islands before returning to California to complete my doctorate in medieval literature and had no idea they would ever attract scholarly attention, let alone be published. I mention this in anticipation of probable criticism of my 'scholarship' when you publish them. They were never meant to be 'scholarly' or 'professional!'"

The most important remark in Nelson's letter of 2 March 1999 is in my opinion the following. While collating the text Nelson encountered another interesting problem: he does not have his original notes anymore, because he has, without my knowledge, sent his notebook with field notes to me.

'Some time ago Cefas van Rossem sent me a copy of his and Hein van der Voort's book, giving his home in Arnhem as his return address. When I asked him to order a copy for old friends of mine who live in that city, to save having to have the book travel half way around the world and back, he kindly delivered it to the Sanders family in person, and we struck up further correspondence. At the same time I caught an overzealous housekeeper here about to throw the little notebook out with the trash and suddenly realized that is where it would probably end when I am gone, since no one else here would ever know what it was, and so I mailed it to van Rossem for safe keeping. I trust he still has it and you can retrieve it from him.'

Unfortunately, the shipment did not go as planned; I had moved in 1997 and forgot to send Nelson a change of address. On 20 August 1999, Den Besten sent Nelson a cry for help. He had already got in touch with me about the notebook. I had tried to

track the notebook through the new occupants at my old address, but to no avail. The notebook was lost and has never been found again.

Den Besten reported all this in his letter to Nelson. Furthermore, he talked about the alternatives he had at his disposal to ensure the publication of the text. Den Besten also asked Nelson to tell him which address he sent the notebook to. This way Den Besten would be able to go to the Postal Service himself and ask after the whereabouts of the parcel.

Nelson informed after the notebook again in his letter of 1 September 1999 addressed to Den Besten. Fortunately, Nelson wrote that he hoped the notebook had been found, but that he doubted whether it would add anything to the notes he had already sent.

For as far as I can tell, the correspondence ends here. Den Besten kept the material, including his letters to Nelson, neatly together. Each new version of a wordlist, including rearrangements and alphabetical lists, was added to the file. Frank Nelson died on 8 September 2001, at the age of 93 (Clark 2001). Unfortunately, on 19 July 2010 Hans Den Besten also passed away, at the age of 61, before he had been able to publish these texts, which are a true missing link within the field of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole studies.

13.8 Nelson's informants

In 1936 Nelson received information from eight informants. The letters between Den Besten and Nelson provide us with more information about some of them, sometimes about their origins, sometimes also about their language use.

On 24 October 1993, Nelson wrote the following about his informants:

'All of my informants were then quite elderly, had not spoken Creole for many years, and were often unable to recall even a few words and phrases until social chit-chat put them at ease and talk about olden times jogged their memories. One, the oldest if I remember rightly, did say that she had spoken Creole quite fluently in her childhood but had never learned to read what she called the 'Deep Creole' of the Bible and religious tracts. She was not the one, incidentally, who told me that she had known a lot of songs in Creole in her unregenerate youth but refused to sing any of them for me because she was 'now a good Christian woman'.

While all of my informants shared a common basic vocabulary, some used words apparently unknown to several of the others (...) and they had quite different pronunciations which a tape-recorder would have caught. I suspected that not only each of the three islands but each of the larger plantations in slavery days was sufficiently isolated to develop its own proto-dialect (...).'

We have known the names of the informants since De Josselin de Jong's research at the beginning of 1923 (see chapter 15). De Josselin de Jong recorded 103 stories of different lengths (De Josselin de Jong 1926). His nine 'dark friends and teachers' (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 7) were, in the order of text presentation:

- William Anthony Joshua (Nisky, St. Thomas, born 1858);
- Prince (Nisky, St. Thomas);
- Emil Francis (Smith Bay, East End, St. Thomas, born 1854);
- John Abraham Testamark (St. John, born 1859 and died in the hurricane of September 1923);
- Robert George (St. John, born 1845);
- Anna Catharina Testamark (St. John, born 1858);
- Ludwig Joseph (St. John, born 1858);
- Albert Christian (St. John, born 1850);
- William Henry Roberts (St. Jan, born 1863).²⁶

After Nelson, three other researchers named their sources. Sprauve (email dated 25 August 2011) has worked since the nineteen sixties with Ms. Monsanto, Charlie Fredericks, (from the southern parts of St. Thomas), Winfield James, (Coral Bay, St. John) and of course Alice Stevens (St. John). Adams Graves (1977: iii) mentioned the following people as her sources: Wilhelmina Cruz, Alice Stevens, Elodie Vessup, Anna Monsanto, James Stevens and Charlie Fredericks. She also mentioned an important fact when she stated that these elderly informants had not taught their offspring the language (Adams Graves 1977: 2). Sabino only worked with Alice Stevens.

The informants never gave any indication they knew which European language their Creole language was related to. Adams Graves (1977: 2) wrote that her informants were aware that their islands were a Danish colony at some point in time. They did not know, however, that there was a connection between their language and Dutch. They called the language *the Creole*. The names that have been given to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole since the eighteenth century, *die creol taal*, *die hou creol* ('the old Creole language') and their varieties do not point to a relationship between the Creole language and Dutch. The last speakers of Berbice Dutch were not aware of the origin of their language either, but called their language *Dotch*, which was clearly derived from the English word *Dutch*. Only one of Silvia Kouwenberg's informants, Amos Clarke, used words based on Dutch and originating from Surinam (Kouwenberg 1994: 22). The use of the word *Dotch* is clearly audible in a video recording of the last speaker of Berbice Dutch, Albertha Bell, made by the Jamaican Language Unit in 2004 (Di Jamiekan Langwij Yuunit/The Jamaica Language Unit 2010). This last speaker passed away in 2005, at the age of 103.²⁷

There is not much information to be found when it comes to informants reviewing twentieth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Mrs. Stevens reviewed De

²⁶ See chapter 15 about De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork. De Josselin de Jong (1926: 8) also mentions Aristeia Benedetti (St. Thomas, born 1850) and Helena Mitchell (St. Thomas, born 1844), who presented him all kind of information.

²⁷ During the SCL-SPCL conference on Aruba (August 2014), Ian Robertson told us he visited a very last speaker of Berbice Dutch. In the beginning of 2016 Peter Bakker confirmed Robertson's news this final speaker also passed away.

Josselin de Jong's material, but she was never asked to do the same for Nelson's material.

Nelson's eight informants will be mentioned below in the order in which their information appeared in Nelson's wordlist. On almost all of them there is more information besides their names.

13.8.1 *Henrietta Francis*

Nelson's list has no less than three speakers sharing the surname Francis. Sprauve wrote me an email (25 July 2012) stating that this name was extremely common, in the eastern part of St. Thomas in particular. In the latter region there were at least two who were known speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.²⁸

Henrietta Francis, who contributed l. 470-739 of the list, came from Frederiksted, St. Croix. Nowadays, this city is the second biggest city of St. Croix with about 830 residents. This island plays an important role in the literature on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Hesseling, for example, states (1905: 20) with regards to the island in the period after 1733:

'Yet our language was brought to the new island, albeit by another way and in a seriously mutilated form. A creole idiom was created due to the interaction between the plantation owners and their slaves on St. Thomas. This was the lingua franca among the indigenous people on the three Danish islands for a long time, and it has been the slave language for two centuries. The slaves in particular were responsible for the spread of this Creole language to St. Croix.'

St. Croix only became Danish in 1733 and Hesseling seems to assume that the already existent Creole language of St. Thomas and St. John migrated with the slaves to St. Croix. Yet in 1774, the German missionary Auerbach already recorded that the people on the island spoke English or a creole variation thereof (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 8-9). When I discussed this with Robin Sabino in the fall of 2010, she told me in a letter that it was likely that enslaved Africans from St. John ended up on St. Croix after the revolt on St. John (1733). There are some St. Croix slave letters preserved as well (Stein, p.c.).

De Josselin de Jong did not have any speakers from St. Croix during his fieldwork. The fact that Nelson did collect a lot of his material there, is another reason why the list deserves our special attention.

Henrietta Francis' sentence *Mi melelek fanda dunku* was discussed by Den Besten (Den Besten's letter, 2 November 1993) and by Nelson (Nelson's letter, 14 November 1993).

²⁸ It might be interesting to find out whether Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was preserved for a longer period of time within certain families or communities. The fact that several of the informants share Francis as a last name, can point to a common last name and not to a family tradition in which language plays an important role. This type of research has not been carried out yet.

13.8.2 *Henrietta Anton*

Nelson mentions Henrietta Anton's entire address: Hospital Street, Christiansted. Nowadays, this city is the biggest of St. Croix with about 3000 residents. We only have fifteen items from this informant, l. 744-760.

13.8.3 *Victoria Mossentau*

The address of Victoria Mossentau²⁹ is known as well: 53 Hill Street, Christiansted (St. Croix). Nelson stated that she was 73 at the time of the interview. She contributed l. 761-826 of the Nelson list.

Den Besten commented on Victoria (Den Besten's letter, 2 November 1993) with regards to the Our Father. He thought her version was rather Dutch. Nelson thought her words 'Alas it! alas it! It gone' were rather formal English. Den Besten (Den Besten's letter, 2 November 1993), however, was of the opinion that what was interpreted by Nelson as 'Alas it!' should in fact have been 'I los(t) it!'.

She also used *nē* for 'no' whereas both Margaret Tadman and Henrietta Francis used variations ending on *-n*. Nelson (Nelson's letter, 24 October 1993) examined these forms further and was of the opinion that they were of Danish origin. Den Besten (Den Besten's letter, 2 November 1993) corrected this and refers to an older source. De Josselin de Jong (1923: 94) states that *-n* is obligatory.³⁰ As soon as the variation without *n* was used in interviews, the informants thought the word *ne* (>D. *neem*) 'take' was used. Moreover they considered this to be an annoying mistake.

13.8.4 *Rebecca Francis*

When it comes to Rebecca Francis, we only know that she was born on St. Thomas and was still living there when the interview took place. The words and the sentences she shared with Nelson, l. 830-963 of the Nelson list, however, show that she has been on the island Tortola as well. This island is located only a couple of kilometres northeast of St. John and is the biggest of the four British Virgin Islands. It was quite common for Dutch colonists to settle on this island as early as in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (at least between 1648 and 1666).³¹

13.8.5 *Jeremiah Hatchet and Mary Francis*

Jeremiah Hatchett and Mary Francis appear together in Nelson's list, l. 966-1013. They came from Smith Bay, nowadays a community at the northeast coast of St. Thomas. De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7) mentions Emil Francis (Smiths Bay, East End, St. Thomas, born 1854). This informant has only produced one, rather short, text. Sprauve worked with Ms. Monsanto, a sister of Duncan Francis from East End, from the sixties onwards. This Duncan Francis was a famous person in the east part of St. Thomas and was active within the Moravian Church. Whether or not he spoke

²⁹ Based on the names that are common on the US Virgin Islands, I suspect the last name is supposed to be Monsanto. Sprauve's informant Anna Monsanto came from St. Thomas and not from St. Croix.

³⁰ The word *nen* 'no' does not appear in Sabino (2012).

³¹ The name *Tortola* is supposed to be derived from *Ter Tholen* 'on Tholen', in which Tholen refers to the Zeelandic island. Although several websites refer to this etymology, I have not seen historical evidence for it.

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, remains unknown (Gilbert Sprauve, email 2 August 2012). In short, several members of the Francis family from East End have contributed in a major way to the description of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

13.8.6 Margaret Tadman

Margaret Tadman did not know her own age, but she did know she came from East End. At first I thought she meant she came from the community of that name on the island of St. John. Yet De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7) shows – see above – that Smith Bay was also considered to be East End. It is located on the east coast of St. Thomas. She contributed l. 1019-1027 of the Nelson list.

13.8.7 Isabella Sylvester

Isabella Sylvester was born on St. John in 1853, and she was 83 at the time of the interview. She told Nelson she grew up on St. John and Tortola and contributed l. 1029-1212 of the Nelson list.

In his letter of 24 October 1993, Nelson wrote that Isabella's use of the preposition *bo* for 'on' could point to an origin in the Danish *paa*. Den Besten (Den Besten's letter, 2 November 1993) refuted this. See chapter 14, note 252.

The word *tizan* for 'soursop' is mentioned in several letters starting with Den Besten's letter dated 27 October 1993. Nelson wonders whether it could not have been derived from the French word *tisane* 'herbal thee' and therefore referring to soursop juice instead of to the fruit itself (chapter 14, Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013, l. 38, 177).

Isabella is also someone who, according to the list, used the phoneme /z/ at the beginning of words as well as in the middle. Den Besten (Den Besten's letter, 2 November 1993) called this into question, but Nelson (Nelson's letter, 14 November 1993) wrote that he was not familiar with Dutch in 1936 and therefore did not know the roots *zee* and *van* and that he wrote down what he thought he heard. He did not hear the words *ze* 'sea' and *van* 'of' as /se:/ and /fAn/ respectively.

13.9 Significance of wordlists for further research

The words and short texts collected in a short space of time by Nelson in 1936, without the intention of searching actively for speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, provide us with a lot of new information. The Nelson list is a missing link between De Josselin de Jong's material and that of the last speakers for various reasons.

First of all, several words do not appear in the publications of Hesseling (1905) and De Josselin de Jong (1926). Further study of these words and, for example, comparing them with older wordlists and texts may yield some more information about the development and extinction of the language.

Moreover, the list also records some sentences, short dialogues and rhymes that were delivered spontaneously. This small corpus may even provide enough source material to further study the syntax of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as a dying language.

Nelson's most productive speakers came from St. Croix. Until now, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was thought to be indigenous only to St. Thomas and St. John. This provides us with a reason to study the use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in an

island on which English seemed to be the lingua franca. Hesseling's remark (1905: 20) which stated that the Creole language was spread to St. Croix by means of enslaved islanders in particular, definitely makes further study of the material in question worthwhile.

Nelson's thought processes and associations during his conversations with the speakers often become clear from the order in which the words appear in the lists. At some instances these leaps in thought are so apparent that Den Besten was able to indicate that something could be missing. In one instance, that of Margaret Tadman, the conversation does not seem very productive. From her reactions one can clearly see that she wants to get it over with as quickly as possible.

The Nelson list, chapter 14.3, was compiled out of wordlists of several informants, which is why the same or related entries can have multiple variations. Den Besten did remark upon this, I included his remarks in the footnotes, but no systematic research has been done so far. It went beyond the scope of this chapter to pursue this at this time, but the availability of these lists will hopefully lead to further study of the language which in 1936 turned out not to be extinct just yet.

13.10 List of mentioned letters, in chronological order³²

Besten, Hans den. (1984, 14 June) to University of Hawaii Library, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A. 1 p. Interlibrary Loan, University of Hawaii, Hamilton Library (1984, 22 June). 1 p. With as appendix *Words and texts, Collected in Virgin Islands, June 1936, by Mr. Frank Nelson*. 8 pp.

Besten, Dr. J.B. den. (1993, 5 October) to University of Hawaii, Hamilton Library, John E. Reinecke Collection, 255o The Mall, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A. 2 pp.

Au, Eleanor C. (1993, 18 October) to Mr. J.B. den Besten, Institute for General Linguistics, University of Amsterdam, Spuistraat 210, 1012 VT Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Fax. 2 pp.

Nelson, Frank G. (1993, 20 October) to Dr. J.B. den Besten, Institute for General Linguistics, Spuistraat 210, 1012 VT Amsterdam, The Netherlands. <arrived 27 October 1993>. 3 pp. Besten, Hans den. (1993, 27 October) to Prof. Frank G. Nelson, 1748 Wai'anue Avenue, Hilo, HI 96720, U.S.A. 3 pp.

Nelson, Frank, G. (1993, 23 October) to Dr. den Besten. <arrived 29 October 1993>. 1 p. Nelson, Frank G. (1993, 24 October) to Dr. J.B. den Besten. 2 pp. With the typed transcription of the original field notes. 18 pp.

Besten, Hans den. (1993, 2 November) to Prof. Frank G. Nelson. 3 pp.

Nelson, Frank G. (1993, 7 November) to Dr. den Besten <arrived 15 November 1993>. 1 p. Nelson, Frank G. (1993, 14 November) to Dr. den Besten <arrived 23 November 1993>. Aerogramme.

Nelson, Frank G. (1994, 22 March) to Dr. J.D. den Besten <stamped Honolulu 24 March 1994>. Aerogramme.

Nelson, Frank G. (1994, 15 May) to Dr. den Besten <arrived 31 May 1994>. 3 pp.

Besten, Hans den. (1994, 31 May) to Prof. Frank G. Nelson. 1 p.

Nelson, Frank G. (1996, 18 July) to Dr. van Rossem. 2 pp. (Reply to letter with copy *Die Creol Taal*. Second page is typed on the only photocopy of the field notes.)

³² The comments by Den Besten on the date of reception were placed between angled brackets.

13. Frank G. Nelson's Virgin Islands Dutch Creole wordlists 275

Nelson, Frank G. (1997, 3 January) to Cefas van Rossem. 1 p. (Attachment: article about Ebonics) <CvR: stamped Honolulu 5 February 1997>

Nelson, Frank G. (1997, 6 January) to Cefas van Rossem. 2 pp. (Reply to letter C. van Rossem of 17 December 1996.)

Besten, Hans den. (1999, 12 February) to Prof. Frank G. Nelson. 10 pp. (letter: pgs. 1 and 2, 96 questions: pgs. 3 t/m 10)

Nelson, Frank G. (1999, 2 March) to Dr. den Besten. <with many detours 23 March 1999>. 8 pp. (letter: p. 1-2, 96 questions with comments, p. 5-10 of original appendix Den Besten 1999, 12 February)

Besten, Hans den. (1999, 20 August) to Prof. Frank G. Nelson. 1 pp.

Nelson, Frank G. (1999, 1 September) to Dr. den Besten. 4 pp.

14. The diplomatic edition of Frank Nelson's wordlists

Chapter 13 sketches how Nelson's 1936 wordlists were rediscovered and how the correspondence between Nelson, Den Besten and others clarified the lists and the history of the fieldwork. Since the previously unpublished lists appeared to be a link between De Josselin de Jong's material and that of the last native speakers in the 1970s and 1980s, a diplomatic edition is necessary. This chapter was previously published as a digital article in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde* (Den Besten & Van Rossem 2013). When preparing it, I could thankfully use Den Besten's meticulous comments, questions and other notes. It was an honor to finish his work in this field.¹ This edition hopefully underlines the importance and value of philological editions even of more or less contemporary materials such as field notes.

14.1 Edition and annotation

14.1.1 Information about texts and sources

The Reinecke list (14.2) is a typescript on eight A4-pages, which is made by John E. Reinecke in 1936. In Reinecke (1937: 425), he writes: "Mr. Frank NELSON, of 611 N. 23rd Street, St. Joseph, Missouri, very kindly lent the writer texts which he gathered during the summer of 1936." See chapter 13 about this exchange of information between Nelson and Reinecke.

The text was preserved in the Tsuzaki/Reinecke Creole Collection in the Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. From the correspondence between Hans den Besten and Eleanore Au, de librarian, it appeared that the original was untraceable. Den Besten sent his copy, including his notes on the pages, to the above-mentioned collection to replace it (Van Rossem 2013a: 12, see chapter 13). The original texts of Den Besten are preserved in the Special Collections department of the university library of the University of Amsterdam. At the moment of this publication, the signature of Den Besten's Creole inheritance was not known yet.

Hans den Besten presents some problems and cases of unclear passages with regard to the Reinecke list to Robin Sabino. In their discussion, they categorized their subjects in two categories: eight numbered points in *Consonants* and seven in *Vowels*. All of these remarks, including the original numbers, are included in the footnotes in 14.2.

The Nelson list (14.3) is a typescript of eighteen pages, which was copied by Frank Nelson from the original 1936 field notes in the weekend of October 20, 1993. It was sent to Den Besten on October 23, 1993. As a result of this list, Den Besten sent many questions to Nelson, all in all a list of 96 questions, which were answered by Nelson in 1999. All of these questions and the related answers and reactions are included literally in the footnotes of 14.3 of my edition, including the number of the original question.

¹ I would like the following people for their contributions, interest, help and comments: Hans Bennis, Liesbeth den Besten, Frans Hinskens, Robin Sabino, Sarah Scanlon-Nelson, Robbert van Sluijs, Gilbert Sprauve, Frank Vandervegt, and Hein van der Voort.

In March 2012, I received the scans of Vandervegt's,² copy of the Nelson list. The notes by Nelson on this copy, which do not appear on Den Besten's copy, are also included in the footnotes in 14.3.

The only two pages from the original field notes were brought to us as a photocopy on which Nelson wrote a letter to me in person on July 18, 1996. Both a photograph and the diplomatic edition of this text are included in 14.4.

14.1.2 Language use and orthography

All words and remarks are the verbatim texts from the manuscripts and typescripts I used. In a single case, a spelling error is corrected. The orthography that was used by Nelson in his typescript (14.3), in which diacritics add information to characters, is reproduced as closely as possible.

The characters <e> that were written by Nelson as <ε> and were interpreted wrongly by Reinecke as a sound that was distinctive from /E/, are printed bold in this wordlist. These only appear in the Reinecke list (14.2) and in the edition of the photocopy (14.4).

14.1.3 Codes and abbreviations

All codes that were necessary for this diplomatic edition are presented in according to 0. *Abbreviations and symbols*. These were originally published in Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996: XII-XIII), and are based on the proposal by Verkruijsse (1973-1974).

Abbreviations

CvR: Cefas van Rossem, only used when it is not clear who presented the actual information.

FH: Frans Hinskens

FN: Frank Nelson

FV: Frank Vandervegt

HB: Hans den Besten

N: recognized as a new, to the present day unknown item.

NRHB: new remarks Hans den Besten (only appear in reactions to Robin Sabino)

PRF: perfect tense

PST: past tense

RS: Robin Sabino

When only a question mark is presented in a footnote, this question mark was literally present in the remarks of the relevant person.

In references in the footnotes, I use the names *Reinecke list* and *Nelson list*. The page numbers refer to the pages within these lists.

I chose to number the lines of both lists consecutively to optimize references in future research.

² Prof. dr. Frank Vandervegt (Business Administration, Wayne State University Detroit,) was a friend of Frank G. Nelson. See chapter 13.

14.2 The Reinecke list: the wordlist from the Creole Collection of John E. Reinecke³

[p.1]

WORDS AND TEXTS

Collected in Virgin Islands, June, 1936, by Mr.
Frank Nelson

(Sounds approximately as in Anglo-Saxon)

	broom	bēzum
	mat	mat
	on	bo
	flown	flek ⁴
5	board	plang
	pillow	kizinchī
	sheet	lāken
	bean	bōnchi
	doctor	dōkto
10	call	rūp
	now	nu
	leaf	blā
	(to call chickens)	chip, chip
	gallery	gābri ⁵
15	belt	[-ble] belt
	parlor	hāl
	pocket h'k'f	sāknestūk
	petticoat	sēyā
	bucket	bōkuto
20	climb	klim
	hill	bērgē
	sew	nai
	to plant	plant
	jump up	lep op
25	work	weruk

³ This text is, as far as can be concluded from the correspondence of Nelson, a typescript of John E. Reinecke from Nelson's manuscript. The text was originally preserved in the John E. Reinecke Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii.

⁴ HB: flaw?

⁵ HB: gāldrī? Id = b. RS: Consonants 3. gabri (N.) – gallery, veranda. /b/ seems to be substituted for /d/ here. (HB:) Or maybe /galdri/ or even /galri/. In Dutch it is 'galerij' and 'gaanderij' (the latter form derives from folk etymology). I don't know whether there is/was a form 'gaalderij' /galderij'. RS: galdri is a form used in the V.I.E.C. Do you think the /b/ is a typo or mishearing? NRHB: Yes I think the 'b' is a typo, a transcription mistake due to the fact that Nelson did not always transcribe his notes carefully. In the new transcripts I found 'Porch, gallery. – Galri', which makes more sense. CvR: Possibly this typing error is due to Reinecke's interpretation of Nelson's handwriting.

	kneel	kini
	guts	dētum ⁶
	horn	horn
	quinepa (fruit)	kenepī
30	sing	sing
	song	sāng
	red	rō
	black	swāt
	duck	pāch-pāchi
35	wood (material)	hautū
	brazier	kōlpāt ⁷
	stew	stō
	soursap	tizān ⁸
	earrings	orāngu
40	gold	gaut
	bead	kālēla
	silver	selvu
	to iron	strik
	fold	fau
45	sprinkle	sprinnl ⁹
	feather	plim
	ghost	ges, jūmbi
	grass	bēshet ¹⁰
	scissors	sket ¹¹
50	boat	bōt
	canoe	bāto, kāno ¹²
	[p.2]	
55	mammey (fruit)	māmai
	papaya	papai
	corn meal	farnya
	sneeze	nis
	laugh	lak
60	cry	kris
	yell	skrēo
	knee	kinī

⁶ HB: dērum? RS: Consonants 1. datum (N.) – intestine. /t/ is substituted for /r/. NRHB: I agree. I should be “darum”. Since I did not feed Nelson’s ‘new’ data into the computer. It is hard for me to look up words. (However I came across ‘Guts – Derum’.

⁷ HB: of kōlpōt (vgl. kōp) of hōl. CvR: ‘or (...) (compare (...)) or (...)’.

⁸ HB: ? sizāk? moet zijn soursop (*nog ...* m’n Webster be*...)*. CvR: ‘(...) must be (...) (*yet to be checked in* my Webster’.

⁹ HB: springl? sprinkl? vgl. nestōn (p. *...)*

¹⁰ HB: *add*

¹¹ HB: sker?

¹² HB: ‘bateau’ of bōto? CvR: ‘(...) or (...)’

	back (of body) ¹³	rege
	beat	slā
65	tanya (fruit)	jankōl
	shark	[-ahi] hai
	bay	bai
	swim	zwim
	drown	draun
70	marry	trau
	wedding	“
	sweetheart	fristū
	spectacles	hoyō kinu (?) ¹⁴
	bull	būl
75	pork	spek
	understand	fōstān
	forgotten	frogit
	letter	bref
	trousers	brūk
80	shirt	hemetē
	tie	krūwāt
	comb	kām
	cup	kāninchī
	burn	brān
85	watch (noun)	paso
	walk	wāndu
	mind (take care)	moin (Irish inf.) ¹⁵
	fall	fāl
	stumble	mēsēfāl
90	clean	fek ¹⁶
	Numeral ¹⁷¹⁸	
	1 en, ēn	30 dērtī, dertik, trētik
	2 twē	40 twēskeling, fērtik ¹⁹

¹³ HB: ?¹⁴ HB: hogō? kikā?? RS: Consonants 5. hojo kinu (N.) – eyeglasses. The /n/ is etymologically unmotivated. (HB:) I vaguely remember the form /hogo kika/: De Josselin de Jong or Nelsons's more recent transcripts? I don't remember. RS: The form is hogokika—how to explain the /n/; the /u/ is odd etymologically too. NRHB: Nelson may have misread his own handwritten 'n' as 'k', which is quite possible given a certain tye of handwriting. It is even possible to misread a badly written 'a' as an 'u'. However: In the new transcripts I found 'Spectacles, - Hogo kiku'. In fact, for me this form makes more sense than 'hogokika'. I never understood the final 'a'. 'Kiku' may derive from Du. 'kijker' (in Zealadic 'kieker' of course) which literally means 'looker'. [In Modern Du. 'kijker' means 'spy glass'.]¹⁵ HB: main? vgl. blain¹⁶ HB: vegen. CvR: 'to sweep/wipe'¹⁷ HB: Numb<ol.?[>]eral?¹⁸ CvR: The characters <e> which Nelson has written as <ε> and which were mistakenly interpreted by Reinecke as a sound which differs from /e/ are printed bold in this list.

282 IV. Twentieth century sources

95	3	drī, trī	50	fifti, fevtik
	4	fī	60	drīskeling, sēstik
	5	fev	70	seventi, sewentik
	6	ses	80	forskeling, āktik
	7	sēw'n	90	negontī, nēgontik
100	8	āk ²⁰	100	en patakon, ēn hundred ²¹
	9	nēgon		
	10	ten		
	11	elef		
	12	twālōf		
105	13	dērtīn		
	14	fītīn, fētīn		
	15	fevtīn		
	16	sestīn		
	17	sēwentīn		
110	18	āktīn		
	19	nēgontīn		
	20	ēnskeling, twe/inti		
	21	enskeling en en, en me twenti		

115 [p.3]

	S[in+]<ni>p	snī
	off	af
	tail	stet
120	thing	got
	life	lef
	like	leke
	house	hús
	name	nām
125	bread	brōt
	cheese	cās ²²
	butter	botər
	child	ken
	drizzle	stofi ²³
130	heavy rain	rēgon
	black	hau ²⁴

¹⁹ CvR: see WNT, s.v. SCHELLING, 1. Old currency: one twentieth part of a pound (cf. E. *shilling*). In this case 'twenty'.

²⁰ RS: Vowels 4. a:k (N.) – eight. The long vowel seems odd here. NRHB: I agree. In the new transcripts I found: '8. – Ok (Ak?)' and '8. – Ak'. I did not come across 'ak' with a long vowel, but maybe it is hidden somewhere.

²¹ CvR: see WNT, s.v. PATAKON, 1. A silver coin, in the 17th and 18th century accepted in the Netherlands. Borrowed from Spanish *patacon* and Portuguese *paracão*.

²² HB: kās

²³ HB: motregen (b. blijkbaar stofregen!). CvR: 'drizzle (b. apperently rain of dust!)' N

²⁴ HB: hau 'oud, ha*.*' black? CvR: 'old'

	lime	limunchi
	boy	yōn ²⁵
	girl	menshi
135	chair	stūl
	bowl	komenchi
	flower	blomenchi
	parrot	popəgoi-i [popinjay]
	birds	difi
140	shoes	skōn
	finger	fingə
	tooth	tān
	eye	hōgō
	nose	nēs
145	ear	hō
	hair	hār
	mouth	mon
	tall	hok
	water	wat[-e]<ə>
150	sea	sē, zē
	go	lō
	sleep	slāp
	rat	rōton ²⁶
	bed	beri
155	pillow	kisinchīn ²⁷
	basin	hænbæk
	knife	nēf, mes
	fork	forok
	spoon	leppū
160	thanks	dānki
	goodbye	adjós
	oven	ōvn
	wash	wash, was
	body	lif
165	eat	yēt ²⁸
	own	ēgon
	business	aferon
	Hell	Hel
	Heaven	Hemol
170	Devil	Dibl
	a little	bechi
	of	fān
	year	yar

²⁵ HB: jōn²⁶ HB: róto? of echt róton? CvR: 'or really'²⁷ HB: n? CvR: Den Besten means final <n>.²⁸ HB: jēt CvR: above ε horizontal line to indicate long vowel.

284 IV. Twentieth century sources

	glass	glās
175	country	plantai
	pretty	moi
	soursap	sazāka ²⁹
	sugarapple	apūl
180	[p.4]	
	cap	kārpūs
	haul	hala
	woman	frau, frōlum ³⁰
185	buy	kop
	pound	pān
	sugar	sūko
	make	mā
	chamber	kāmbū
190	kitchen	kāmbūs
	pantry	pāntrūm
	cistern	regolbæk ³¹
	now	nū
	can	kan
195	think	dinko
	cocoanut	kokonēt
	grave	grāf
	dead	dōd
	drink	drink
200	walk	wāndu
	write	skrif
	table	taul
	cart	karōshin
	horse	kabai
205	donkey	nōli
	cow	kūi
	pig	ferke
	calf	kalfi

²⁹ HB: of suzāka? *aua*!? soursop! CvR: 'or'.

³⁰ RS: Consonants 2. fralum (N.) – woman, wife. The /lum/ seem odd. NRHB: I agree. In the 'new' transcripts I found 'Woman. – Fro' (with a lengthening sign above the 'o'), and 'A woman. – En frau', 'Lady. – Frau', 'Man and woman go marry. – Man me frau lo trau'. Maybe '-lu(m)' derives from the TMA particle 'lo'. There are more cases where Nelson did not understand the function of these particles. Unfortunately, this still leaves unexplained the final 'm'. FH: Kan het niet teruggaan op Duits 'Fräulein'? Per slot van zaak waren sommige Herrnhutters Duitsers of in elk geval Duitstalig. CvR: 'Can't this go back on German 'Fräulein'? After all some Moravian Brethren were Germans or at least German-speaking'.

³¹ RS: Consonants 6. regolbak (N.) – cistern, tank. /l/ is substituted for /n/. NRHB: I agree that the 'l' is odd. In my view this cannot be a transcription mistake. Also the new transcripts give 'Cistern. – Regolbak'. This may be due to Nelson's informant.

	piece of ground	plantai
210	box	kasha
	money	stibu
	cat	pushi
	dog	hun
	where	upe ³²
215	[-fa]today	fanda
	Sunday	Sunda
	Monday	Mānda
	Tuesday	Dīsēdā
	Wednesday	Wōndā
220	Thursday	Donderdā
	Friday	Frīdā
	Saturday	Sæterdē
	mother	ma, mamā', madaum
	father	popā
225	uncle	nōm
	brother	buchi
	sister	shishi
	cousin	kuzin
	church	kerk
230	preacher	bās (?), dōmnī
	congregation	gomento
	mouse	mishi
	blind	blain ³³
	see	kī
235	how	hoso
	run	kūrri
	away	awē
	with	wit
	farmer	fāma
240	wife	wif

³² RS: Vowels 1. epi, upe (N.) – where. I would expect initial /a/. The /u/ seems especially odd. (HB:) I guess Nelson's informants simply reduced the unstressed /a/, as happened in /pupa/ (from /papa/. And a schwa can become a /u/ in NH. RS: \i strongly suspect that the derivation is the other way around. U→schwa, and that paragogic full vowels were socially marked and hence were reduced preserving the CV syllable, but reducing the salience of the vowel. Anyway, the forms api/ape have equal emphasis on each syllable. Reduction seems unlikely. Mrs. Stevens never did it, nor did de Jong's consultants. NRHB: In the new transcripts I found: 'Where is the dog? – Upi th' hun?' and 'Where are you going? – Ape lolo?' and 'Where were you born? – Epe yu geboren?' If both syllables have equal stress, the 'u' is unexplained unless (a) this is a transcription mistake, or (b) there was more variation than we now know.

³³ RS: Vowels 5. blain (N.) – blind. This is English Creole. The Negerhollands forms have front monophthongs. NRHB: I agree. But it is part of a NH version of 'Three blind mice' and occurs twice.

[p.5]

	find	fen
245	take	drā
	sun	sun
	wind	wen
	ship	skep
	big	grolt ³⁴
250	little	klen
	sia/ail	[-zé] zēl
	captain	kaptē'n
	hurricane	hūrikēn
	lizard	kakatez
255	snake	slāng
	crab	krābū
	fowl	hūndū
	needle	nāl
	thread	garən
260	window	wenstū ³⁵
	stairs	stērs
	door	dōr
	cellar	saldū ³⁶
	breakfast	tē
265	midday meal	frōkost
	evening “	diner
	dress	kapūtū
	kerchief	nestōn ³⁷
	hungry	hongru ³⁸
270	egg	ēyū
	leaven	shīdē
	rice	ris
	red beans	rō bonji
	pot	pot
275	cold pot	komfot ³⁹
	dish	sketl
	mirror	skifi
	comb	kām

³⁴ HB: grolt? grōt? RS: Consonants 4. grolt (N.) – big, large, great. The /l/ surprising. NRHB: I agree. I only found ‘grot’(with a lengthening sign above the ‘o’) in the new transcripts. Maybe Nelson’s lengthening sign was somewhat askew so that he could misread it as an ‘l’.

³⁵ HB: niet fēnstū! of venstū! CvR: ‘not (...) or (...)’

³⁶ HB: kelder x cellar, maar saldu? CvR ‘basement x cellar, but (...)’. See note 128, Nelson list.

³⁷ HB: tōn?

³⁸ HB: r?

³⁹ HB: of bedoeld: kōlpot? vgl. kōlpāt ‘br*azier* p. 1!!! CvR: ‘or meant (...) comp. (...)’

	fire	fī
280	charcoal	kōl
	paper	pāmpi
	basket	mā kutū
	stick	stok
	read	lēš
285	tea	te, tē
	coffee	kāfī
	corn	ma-īs
	white	wēt
	black	swart
290	blue	blau
	gray	grau
	people	folok
	yam	yāmos
	potato	batā'
295	cassava	casau
	banana	banana
	fish	fes
	turtle	skelbāt, skelpān ⁴⁰
	oil	oli
300	heart	hāt
	hot	het
	cold	cōt
	hat	hōt
305	[p.6]	
	Dane	Dēn, Dānsko
	wet	nāt
	bake	bāk
310	clock	klok
	early	frūfrū
	orange	aposhīn
	calabash	kalbās
	enough	gono
315	afternoon	asta ⁴¹
	book	būk, biki ⁴²

⁴⁰ RS: Consonants 8. skelpān (N) – turtle. /n/ is substituted for /t/. NRHB: I am not certain that 'n' could be a transcription mistake for 't'. This may be due to the informant, also in view of the fact that I found the same form in the new transcripts: 'Turtle. – Skelpān'. The informant may have substituted 'pan' for 'pat'. However, I also found 'Turtle. – Skelbat', with a shortening sign above the 'e'. CvR: See Nelson list (14.3, p. 4).

⁴¹ HB: menda*k*?

⁴² HB: biki? = buki? RS: Vowels 3. biki (N.); also bk (N.) – book. The initial /i/ is surprising. NRHB: I agree. The new transcripts give 'Book. – Bok, buki.' (with a lengthening sign above

	white man	blanko
	turkey	kālkūn
	little pig	pig ⁴³
320	okra	kyambo
	cloth, clothes	duku
	grandmother	gangang
	call	hōp ⁴⁴
	come	kōm
325	kalalu (okra soup)	kalalū
	corn cake	funjī
	hoe	[-han] hau
	<lm.x>earring	ranggu
	watch	hōlochī'
330	machete	kətlīs
	bucket	wātūtobō
	fire	fī
	yes	ya
	no	nū ⁴⁵
335	pepper	pepū
	hammer	hambū
	meat	flois ⁴⁶
	shoemaker	skūnmeka
	talk	prat
340	take up	rem ⁴⁷
	cut	kāp
	pean[-tus]<ol.ut>	pinda
	town	tāpus
	go	lo
345	flour	mēl
	sell	flokō
	chicken	kikinch[u+]<i>
	cane	sūkustok

the 'u') Probably Nelson misread his own handwriting. CvR: In Nelson list (14.3, p. 7 and 11) we find the form *bok*.

⁴³ HB: big?

⁴⁴ HB: rōp?

⁴⁵ CvR: above of the *u* the typescript has a horizontal line to indicate length of the vowel.

⁴⁶ HB: fleis? RS: Vowels 6. flois (N.) – flesh, meat. The back vowel is surprising here. (HB:) I guess this could be /fIEis/. RS: Would this be a typo or a transcription error? NRHB: Nelson probably jotted down something like 'fleis' and misread his 'e' as an 'o'. But even the new transcripts give 'Meat. – Flois'. CvR: In the Nelson list (14.3, p. 9) this spelling is not under discussion.

⁴⁷ RS: Consonants 7. rem (N.) – take up. Could this be a misreading of a transcription of nem? NRHB: This may very well be a misreading for 'nem'. For the time being I am only able to find the form 'ne' (twice, inside sentences) in the new transcripts. CvR: The form *rem* appears again with the meaning 'to take' (14.3, p. 9, line 832). See footnote. It is indeed a reading error.

	know	wet
350	time	tit
	cook	kōk
	where	epē
	born	gebōren ⁴⁸
	other	andos ⁴⁹
355	place	plēs
	stocking	kausn
	socks	sāx
	hat	hūt
	tree	bōm
360	sick	sik
	baby	b*ē*bī
	get	krī
	lamp	lāmp, [-lapara]lāmpara (?)
	candle	[-kēes]<ul.kēes>
365	[p.7]	
	*m*ilk	moluk
	potato	batíta
370	fight	feket[ē+]<e>
	kill	mātā
	to saw	sā
	gourd	sōt/gō, sōt kālabās
	open	hōpō
375	dance	dāns, ribot
	drunk	drung
	plíce ⁵⁰	sētēns ⁵¹
	piece	steki
	drum	drum
380	Christmas	grō Sundā
	leader of dance	laren

⁴⁸ HB: gə?

⁴⁹ RS: Vowels 2. andos (N.) – other. The vowel should be /u/; the /s/ seems is unmotivated. (HB:) This must be Dutch 'anders' (different, differently, in another way). In my view /o/ instead of /u/ is not that bad. RS: My assumption was that the s was elided and that the unstressed word final er would be realized as u. This is a wide spread correspondence. If the s is retained and the r deleted, what would motivate the backing? This would approach would suggest the vowel was backed by the velar r prior to deletion, but clusters were certainly less compatible with the substrate phonology than the underlying vowel to deletion. NRHB: I don't know. There are two words in Dutch: 'ander' (other) and 'anders' (different, differently, in another way). Is it really impossible to assume that substrate speakers could substitute 'u' or 'o' for schwa, whether or not a syllable final consonant is elided? In 'apolsina' the 'l' is retained and yet we get a full back vowel instead of the schwa.

⁵⁰ HB: police?

⁵¹ CvR: Meant is the word *seteris*. The characters <r> en <i> were misread as <n>.

290 IV. Twentieth century sources

	head	kōp
	side	shī
	street	stræt
385	pen	pen
	mule	būrīkō
	fast	gau
	slow	sūchi
	friend	frend
390	godmother	mimá
	hand	hān[-d]
	foot	fūtū
	leg	bel ⁵²
	chin	kāk
395	eyes	h*o*go (?)
	tongue	tung
	thumb	tum
	cheeks	gisē
	eyebrows	hōgobrai
400	arm	erum
	belly	bik
	stone	sten
	axe	kapmes, bil
	sky	heməl
405	moon	mān
	full	fūl
	wave	wēg
	coffin	kāfin
	night	dūnkū
410	well (adv.)	frai
	finish	kaba
	morning	morog
	day before yesterday	el gestu
	steal	dif
415	well (n.)	pēt
	condemn	dō
	fort, jail	fort
	try	prūbe
	run	krī
420	sailor, p<ol.o>liceman	matrós
	take	fang
	any	enten (?)
	say	sē
	beg	bedl
425	bottle	batl
	rum	sūpí

⁵² HB: bedoeld buttock CvR: ‘meant (...)’

[p.8]

- 430 Mi ā lō en dans gistu dūngu. De wes drum dans. De ā lo pān frai. Dī
Folok a wes wel drung. Der hā ēn [-f*..*ee] fēketē. Der has seteris, an nē
Sene a di fort. As nē wet wāt sēn sa dū me sendū. Morok (?) ōns sā wet.

(I went to a dance last night. It was a drum dance. It went on well.

- 435 The people was well drunk. It had police, and take them in the Fort.
I don't know what they will do with them. Tomorrow we will know.)

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| | Fandē nā gro Sunda | Today is Christmas |
| | Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī | Water me, laren, water me, (give rum) |
| 440 | Wātō mī na mī kōp shi | Water me to my head side, |
| | Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī | Water me, laren, water me, |
| | Han mī dī guava berry | Hand me the g[au+]<ua>va-berry (wine), |
| | Wātō mī, laren, wātō mī. | Water me, laren, water me. |

- 445 Three Blind Mice

- Tri blain mishi
Ki hoso sen kūrri
Sen kūrri awē wit dā fāma chi wif,
450 Sen snī āf sens stet wit a gebrāta mes,
Mī no it no ka ki so en gōt a mī lef
Leke drī blain mishi.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| | The horse pulls the cart. | Dī kabai hala dī kārūshi |
| 455 | The woman is going to market. | Dī frau ˈf*ˈlolo a bene market. |
| | I'm going to buy a po[j+]<u>nd of sugar. | Mī lolo kop en pān suko. ⁵³ |
| | Where are you going? | Apē yo lolo? |
| | What's your name? | Hōsē yo nām? |
| | A man built a house; it had three | A mām mā en hus. Der ha drī |
| 460 | Rooms, a kitchen and a pantry, | kambu, |
| | | en kambus me en pantrum, en |
| | | regolbæk |
| | A cistern outside the house. | a bitī fan dā hus. |
| | I cannot think of more now. | Mī nū kan dīnko mē no. |

⁵³ RS: Vowels 7. suko (N.) – sugar, sugarcane. The final vowel should be u. (HB:) Cf. my remarks about /o/ in /andos/, although I agree that /u/ is more regular. RS: here the tendency would be for raising in the velar environment. Vowel harmony would also reinforce the word final u. CvR: Nelson list (14.3, p. 6) has: *cane sūkustok*, which underlines the theory of vowel harmony.

14.3 The Nelson list: the wordlist from letter Nelson (October 24, 1993)¹²

1.

Henrietta Francis, Frederiksted, St. Croix

- 470 Come into the house. – kom na bene
 Hosó yo be?- How are you?
 Well, thank you. – Frai, danki
 Bread – Bröt.
 No. Nain.³
- 475 White man's love is leprosy.-Bokra lub is kokobai.
 House. – Hūs
 We – Ons.
 Name. – Nām
 Bread.- Bröt.
 480 Cheese.- Kās.
 V<ul.B>utter.- Bot'r/
 All of you.- Yēno.
 Child.- Kēn
 Drizzle.- Stōfi.⁴
- 485 Heavy rain.- Rēgon.
 Blach Bread.- Swart bröt.
 Old.- Hau.
 Two years.- Twē yēr.⁵
 Limes (fruit).- Limūnchi.⁶
- 490 Little boy.- Klē yōn.

¹ On top of the list which HB received from FN with his remarks and answers with regard to the wordlist, FN wrote the following: These answers are strictly tentative, based upon memory alone. Please check with my original notes which you retrieve them from van Rossem. F.N. CvR: These notes got lost in the mail, see chapter 13. In his email of March 19, 2012, Frank Vandervegt appeared to also have a copy of this Nelson list in which some improvements were made by Nelson. I also included these in this edition.

² The words which were recognized by Den Besten as so far unknown or with a meaning which was unknown up to then, are marked N. These words were collected in a separate list by Den Besten. I think he compared the Nelson list to the vocabulary of De Josselin de Jong (1926). A note in his manuscript shows that Den Besten also wanted to compare the Nelson list to the language in the so-called Magens letter (February 23, 1883, in Schuchardt 1914).

³ Den Besten (Den Besten, November 2, 1993): "As for Henrietta Francis' *nain* 'no' instead of *nē*: *nē* is indeed used by Victoria Mossentau but Margaret Tadman gave you *nēn*. DJdJ in his article preceding his 1926 publication claims that the obsolete Dutch form *neen* 'no' was the sole form possible among his informants. *Nē* for them meant 'take'. Whenever I used the form *nee* 'no', DJdJ says, they corrected me. They found it a ridiculous mistake. So I guess the *n* in *nain* belongs to the original Creole. And you were right that the *ai* sound either derives from blending with German *nein* or from blending with Danish *nej*."

⁴ N

⁵ HB: 25. p.1, line 19: "Two years": Could *twē yēr* also be *twē yār*? FN: possibly.

⁶ HB: 08. p.1. line 20: "Limes (fruit)": should "(fruit)" be in red? FN: Yes, to avoid confusion with plaster.

- Little girl.- Klē mēnshi.
 Chair.- Stūl.
 bowl.- Kōmēnchi.
 Flower.- Blomēnchi.
 495 Parrot.- Pōpegiĩ.⁷
 Birds.- Dīfi. Shoes.- Skōn.
 Finger.- Finge'.
 Teeth. – Tān.
 Eyes. – Yōhógō.
 500 Nose. – Nēs.
 Hair. – Hār.
 Mouth. – M[u+]<o>n.
 Tall man. – Hok M[-ae]<ol.æ>. <mæn>
 Ears. – Hō

505

2

- Sea water. – S[*i*+]<ē> wat'.⁸
 I go. – Me lōlō
 510 Sleep. – Slāp.
 Rat.- Roton.
 Bed.- Bēre.
 Pillow. – Kisinchin.
 <rm.Basin. – Hænbæk.>
 515 Knife. – Nēf'.⁹
 Fork. – Fōrōk'.¹⁰
 Spoon. – Leppu¹¹
 Thanks. – Dānk[e+]<i>.
 Goodbye. – Adjos'.¹²
 520 Oven (stove?)- Ovn'.¹³
 Wash your body. – Was yo lif.
 Eat. – Yēt.
 Drink'.¹⁴ – Dri[m+]<n>k.
 Walk. – Lo Wanda'.¹⁵
 525 Write. – Skrif.

⁷ HB: 26. p.1, line 26: "Parrot": Is it *pōpegoiĩ* or did you jot down *pāpegaiĩ* (cf. Du. Papegaai). N

⁸ HB: 27. p.2, line 1: "Sea water": Is it *wat'* or *wate'*? (In the 1936 transcript it is *watə*.) FN: wate.

⁹ N

¹⁰ N

¹¹ N

¹² N ((nieuwe variant) +ajos, HB). CvR: 'new variant'.

¹³ HB: 09. p.2, line 13: "Oven (stove?)": should "(stove)" be in red? FN: yes.

¹⁴ Typescript V: Dri[m+]<n>k.

¹⁵ HB: 28. p.2, line 17: "Walk": Is it *wanda* or *wando* or *wandu*? (In your 1936 transcript you give *wandu*, which is the 'correct' form.) FN: probably wandu.

- T[o+]<a>ble. – Tav¹⁶
 [-Cart. – Kabai]. <rm.< Cart – Kārōshin>
 <rm.Horse – Kabay>
 Donkey. – Noli.
 530 Calf. – Kalfi. <rm.< Cow – Kui>
 Pig. – Ferki.
 Piece of land. – Plantai.
 Box. – [*.*+]<K>ashi.
 Money. – S[*...*+]<tib>u.
 535 Go in. – Lo [-*bed*] ben.
 Go out. – Lo na bīti.
 Cat. – Pushi.
 Dog. – Hun.
 Where is the dog? – Upi th' hun?
 540 I am going to St. Thomas. – Me lolo na St. Thomas.
 Today is Sunday. – Fanda a Sunda.
 Monday. / Mānda.
 Tuesday. Dīsenda.
 Wednesday. [-*Wonda*]. Wōnda.
 545 Thursday. Donderda.¹⁷
 Friday.¹⁸ Sae<ol.æ>terdē.¹⁹
 (Informant knew names of month [i+]<o>nly in English.)²⁰

3

- 550 Mother.- Mā. Mamá.
 Father. – Popa.
 Uncle.- Nōm.
 Brother. – Bushi.
 555 Sister. – Shīshi.
 Cousin. – Kuzin.²¹
 Take a chair. – Nā en stūl.²²
 Church. – Kerk.
 Preacher.- Bās.²³
 560 Congregation. – Gomento.²⁴

¹⁶ HB: 29. P.2, line 19: “Table”: Is it *tavl* or *taul* (i.e. *ta-ul*). In your 1936 transcript you give *taul*. But both forms would be correct.

¹⁷ Typescript FV: <rm. *F*riday Fridā>

¹⁸ Typescript FV: <lm.Saturday>[-Friday]

¹⁹ Nelson (Nelson, November 7, 1993): “I still made a few errors and left out a couple of words! (...) on page 2, correct to Friday- Frida; Saturday –Saeterde.” (CvR: “Friday ... Saeterde.” typed in red)

²⁰ HB: 10. p.2, last line: “(Informant knew...)”: should this line be in red? FN: yes.

²¹ N

²² HB: 30. p.3, line 7: “Take a chair”: Could *nā* be *nē*? (The ‘correct’ form is *nē*, cf Du. *Nemen*.) FN: *Ne* probably correct

²³ N

THREE BLIND MICE [-TREi] Tri Blain Mishi.

- NOTE: This is only one of several versions of this old nursery
 565 Rime which [-I]I heard in the Virgin Islands in the spring of
 1936, from both Blacks and Whites, most of whom were unaware
 that it was even in Creole but told me that they had learned
 it in childhood either from their parents or from nursemaids.
 To them it was just a nonsense jingle. Unfortunately, I did
 570 not take down any of these "buckra" versions with their varying
 mixtures of Creole and Island English. Mea culpa.

Frank G. Nelson. Hilo, Hawaii. October, 1993

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Three blind mice! | Tri blain mishi |
| 575 | See how they run! | Ki hose sen kurre ²⁵²⁶ |
| | They ran away | Sen kurri awé |
| | With the farmer's wife. | Wit de fāma che wif. ²⁷ |
| | She cut off their tails | Sens sne af sens stet |
| | With a carving knife. | Wit a gebrāta mēs ²⁸ |
| 580 | I never ha[*d*+]<v>e seen | Me noit mo ka ki ²⁹ |
| | Such a thing in my life | So en got a me lif |
| | As three blind mice. | Lēke dri blain mishi. |

585

Rice.- Ris
 Red Beans.- Rō bonji
 Pot . – Pot
 Cold pot. – Komfot.³⁰

²⁴ N

²⁵ HB: 31. p.3, Three bl. mice, line 2: Could *hose* also be *hoso* (as you wrote in your version of 1936; *hoso* is the 'correct' form anyway.) FN: yes.

²⁶ HB: 32, p.3, Three bl. mice, line 2: Could *kurre* also be *kurri*? (*Kurri* is more correct. And it is the form you wrote in 1936.) FN: Use *kurri*.

²⁷ HB: 33. p.3, Three bl. mice, line 4: Could *che* also be *chi*? (That is what you wrote in 1936 and it is more correct (cf. *shi* elsewhere.) FN: *chi*.

²⁸ HB: 34. p.3, Three bl. mice, line 6: *Gebrāta* is an intriguing form. You also used it in your 1936 transcript. Since I now have a feeble hypothesis about what the word actually might be: is it possible that you jotted down *gabrita*? Or do we have to stick to *gabrāta*? (In one of your letters you mention remembering the variant *gebrooite* in a half/Creole half English version of "The blind mice" sung to you by the lady who would not sing any songs in Creole for you "because she was now a good Christian". But I must confess that I do not know yet how to fit in this variant.) FN: The English version of this old nursery rhyme has "carving knife", i.e. a knife to [-*t...*] <ol.carve> a roast. HB: *gebrāta mēs* N

²⁹ HB: 35. p. 3, Three bl. mice, line 7: Could *mo* also be *me* (i.e. Du. *meer* 'anymore'? Or is it maybe *no*? FN: Probably "no"; English version of song has "never".

296 IV. Twentieth century sources

- 590 Dish. – Skētl.³¹
 Comb. – kām.
 m<ol.M>irror. – Skifi.³²³³
 Fire. – Fī.
 Comb. – Kām.³⁴
- 595 Charcoal. – Kōl.
 Picture. – Pikcha.³⁵
 Paper. – Pamp[a+]<i>
- 4
- 600 Basket. – Mākutú.
 Stick. – Stok.
 Read. – Lēs.
 Tea. – Tī.
 Coffee. – Kāf[e+]<i>³⁶
- 605 Corn (maize) – Ma-īs.³⁷
 Black. – Swart.³⁸
 Blue. – Blau.
 Gray. – Grau.
 People. – Folok.
- 610 Yam. – Yamos.
 Potato. – Batá.[-*.*]³⁹

³⁰ Nelson (Nelson, November 14, 1993): “Another culinary puzzle: could Rebecca Francis cold pot be folk-etymology for compote – Danish kompot? “ (CvR: Nelson means Henrietta Francis.) HB: 36. p.3, 4th line below Three blind mice: “Cold pot”: REMARK: Your suggestion in one of your letters that *cold pot* might be *coal pot* is correct. But I’ll keep the spelling as it is and I will explain this in a footnote. *Coal pot* is both Virgin Islands English Creole and Negerhollands (*kōlpot*). *Komfot* appears in de Josselin de Jong as *konfórt* ‘houtschoolpot’, which he compares with Du. *komfoor* ‘brazier’. (As for the nasal, dJdJ probably meant *komfórt*.)

³¹ N

³² HB: 37. p.3, 7th line below Three blind mice: “Mirror. – Skifi.” Is strange, since ‘mirror’ should be NH *spigəl* while NH *skifi* means ‘drawer’. – Is this due to your informant or did you conflate two entries? And if the latter is the case, what do these two entries look like? FN: Sheer confusion, mine or informant’s.

³³ N

³⁴ HB: 38. p.3, 6th and 9th line below Three blind mice: Two entries “Comb. – Kām.” Is this correct or should one of them be dropped – and if so, which one? FN: Drop either. My absent minded duplication.

³⁵ N

³⁶ N

³⁷ HB: 11. p.4, line 6: “Corn (maize)”: is (maize)” original or should it be in red? FN: Probably original, American “corn” is maize; British is [*...*] grain.

³⁸ HB: 39. p. 4, line 7-9: Three color names. In view of your 1936 transcript, is it possible that between *Corn* and *Black* an entry for *white* is missing? FN: Let’s assume it is. Fill it in. CvR: The Reinecke list says: “white wēt”.

- Banana. – Banana.
 Fish. – Fēs.
 Turtle. – Skēlbat.⁴⁰
 615 Oil. – Oli.
 Heart. – Ha't, (Hart ???)⁴¹
 Hot. – Hět.
 cold. – Kōt.
 hat. – [h+]<h>ōt.
 620 Cap. – Karpūs.
 The horse pulls the cart. Di kabay hala di karushi.⁴²
 The woman went to market. – Di frau lolo abēne market.⁴³
 I'm going to buy a pound of sugar. – Me lolo kop em pan suko.⁴⁴
 Where are you going? – Ape lolo?⁴⁵
 625 What's your name? – Hose yo nām?⁴⁶
 He built a h[p+]<o>use. – A ma mā en hūs.
 It had 3 rooms, 1 kitchen with a pantry. – Der ha trī kambu, - en
 kambus me en pantrum.⁴⁷
 A cistern outside the house. – En regolb[-æ]<ol.æ>k a bītī fān da hūs.
 630 I can't think of more now. – [-Mi] Mi nu kan dinko me no.

- Coconut water (milk). – Kokonet water.^{48,49}
 635 My oldest brother. – Mai hausta buchi.⁵⁰
 My younger brother. – Mai yu<ol.*v*> buchi.
 Soursap tree. – Sasaka bōm.
 Mango tree. – Mango bōm.

³⁹ HB: 40. p.4, line 12-13: Is it possible that between *potato* and *banana* a line for *cassava* is missing? (Because you mention *cassava* in your 1936 transcripts.) FN: Assume it is. Fill it in. CvR: The Reinecke list says: "cassava casau".

⁴⁰ N (CvR: next to the form *skelpān*)

⁴¹ HB: 12. p.4, line 17: "Heart. – Ha't, (Hart ???)": should "(Hart ???)" be in red? FN: no.

⁴² Nelson (Nelson, November 7, 1993): "And karushin – cart looks like Portuguese carroça (with a tilde under the second ç), (...)". CvR: Both *karushin* and *cart* are typed in red. The word *karoshin*, with final <n>, only appears in the Reinecke list (14.2, p. 4) and as a correction in the Nelson list (14.3, p. 2).

⁴³ Market N

⁴⁴ HB: 41. p. 4, line 24: "I'm going to ...": Could *pan* 'pound' also be *pon*? (CF Du. *pond* 'pound'.)

⁴⁵ HB: 42. p. 4, line 25: "Where are ...": Could *Ape lolo*? Also be *Ape yo lolo*?

⁴⁶ HB: 43. p. 4, line 26: "What's ...": Could *hose* also be *hoso*?

⁴⁷ Pantrum N

⁴⁸ HB: 13. p.4, 5th line from below: "Coconut water (milk).": should "(milk)" be in red? FN: VI English apparently refers Coconut water; *hence* Amer*icans use ..* Coconut milk.

⁴⁹ Kokonet N, Kokonet water N

⁵⁰ HB: 44. p.4, line 32: "My oldest ...": Could *hausta* also be *haustu* or *hausto*? FN: (CvR: *hausta* is underlined) -a probably represent*s* a schwa.

640

5

Grave. – Grāf.

Dea[*.*+]<d>. – Dōd.

645 Coffin. – Kafēn.⁵¹How are you tonight? – Hose yo be fanda dun[*.*+]<k>un?⁵²Good (sic.) thanks. – Frai, danki.⁵³My ankle is bad tonight. – Me melelek fanda dunku. (?)^{54,55}I think we shall finish now. – Me denk ons ska kaba [-*...*] nu.⁵⁶

650 I'll go to church tonight, – Me ska lo a kerk fanda dunku.

Night. – [-Dun] Dunku.

655 Light. – Le.

Morning. – Morog.⁵⁷Day before yesterday. El gestu.⁵⁸

Well (noun). – Pēt.

NARRATIVE

660 He stole a calf. – Ha ma dīf en kalfi.

They put him in jail. – Se [-*.*] a dōm a fort.⁵⁹He tried to run away, – Ha ma prube for krī wē,^{60,61}⁵¹ N⁵² HB: 45. p.5, line 4: “How are ...”: Could *hose* also be *hoso*? FN: yes.⁵³ HB: 14. p.5, line 5: “Good (sic.) ...”: is “(sic.)” original or should it be in red? FN: original.⁵⁴ Den Besten (Den Besten, November 2, 1993): “The sentence *My ankle is bad tonight. – Me melelek fanda dunku.*, which you marked with a question mark, probably can be pared as follows: *Me me lelek fanda dunku* ‘I am “bad” today night’. *Me/mi* is a 1st p. sing. pronoun as well as a present tense copula. And *lelek* may derive from Dutch *lelijk* ‘1. ugly, 2. Bad, not good (not applied to persons)’. Nelson (14 november 1993): “I am glad you cleared up the mystery of Victoria Mossentau’s bad ankle; after telling me she “felt bad”, she explained the reason in English. I am rather sorry, though, that you correctly interpreted her syntactically impossible “alas it” as a prosaic “I lost it”. I must have been so impressed with her dear old soul’s obvious sorrow and bad conscience that I felt an archaic *alas* fitted the occasion!”⁵⁵ HB: 15. p.5, line 6: “My ankle ...”: should “(?)” in red? FN: no.⁵⁶ *Ska* N ‘will, shall’ (Danish)⁵⁷ N (Nieuwe betekenis of misverstand, HB) CvR: ‘(new meaning or misunderstanding)’.⁵⁸ N⁵⁹ Den Besten (Den Besten, November 2, 1993): “The verb *dōm* ‘condemn’ of Nelson (1936: 7) is based upon a misunderstanding. This Creole form seems to remind us of obsolete Du. *doemen* instead of *verdoemen*. But the narrative of the stolen calf, from which you took *dōm*, says *They put him in jail. – Se na dōm a fort*. And from this I derive that *dōm* is *dō am* or *dū am* ‘put him’, from Du. *doen*, which can also mean ‘put’ (cf. *iets ergens in doen*, DJDJ also quotes this Creole verb). So the sentence probably is *Sen a dōm [=do am] a fort* ‘They PAST put-him NA [=locative prep.] fort/prison’. Your *Se na* follows the syllabification you heard. Also compare *Ha ma prube ... = Ham a prube ...* ‘He PAST try ...’ (same story).⁶⁰ Prube N

- 690 Lizard. – Kakatez (kalalez?)⁷⁴
 Snake. – [-Slang/] Slang.
 Crab.- Krabu.
 Fowl ‘hen) – Hundu.⁷⁵
 Needle. – Nāl.
- 695 Thread. – Garen.
 Window. – W[*i*+]<e>nstu.
 Stairs. – Sters.⁷⁶
 Door. – Dor.
 Cellar. – Saldu.⁷⁷
- 700 NUMERALS
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. – En | 21. Enskeling en en. ⁷⁸ |
| 2. – Tw[*.*+]<ē> | 30. Derti. |
| 3. – Drī | [-31 -] 40. – twe skeling. |
| 4. – Fī | 50. – Fifti. |
| 705 5. – Fēv. | 60. – drī skeling. |
| 6. – Sēs. | 70. – Seventi. |
| 7. – Sew’n. | 80. – Forskeling. |
| 8. – Ok (Ak?) ⁷⁹ | 90. – Negonti. |
| 9. – Nēgon. | 100. En patakan (patakon?) ⁸⁰ |
| 710 10. – ten. | |
| 11. – Elef. | |
| 12. – Twālēf. | |
| 13. – Dertín. | |
| 14. – Fitín. | |
| 715 15. – Fe[*.*+]<v>tín. | |
| 16. – Sestín | |
| 17. – Sewentin. | |
| 18. – aktín. | |
| 19. – Negontín. | |
| 720 20. – [-*t*] Enskeling. ⁸¹ | |

⁷⁴ HB: 16. p.6, line 1: “Lizard ...”: should “(kalalez?)” be in red? FN: yes, but just a guess.

⁷⁵ HB: 17. p.6, line 4: “Fowl ‘hen) ...” should “‘hen)” (i.e. “(hen)” be in red? FN: yes, VI English for hen is fowl.

⁷⁶ N (Engl., HB)

⁷⁷ HB: 50. p.6, line 10: “Cellar. – Saldu.”: Could *saldu* be *soldu* or is it *seldu* (or even *keldu*)? -- Compare Du. *zolder* ‘attic’ and *kelder* ‘cellar (which could be mixed with Eng. *cellar* to yield something like *seldu*). – Or have two entries been conflated here: one for ‘attic (*soldu*?) and one for ‘cellar’ (*keldu*)? N

⁷⁸ Enskeling, twe skeling, drī skeling, Forskeling N

⁷⁹ HB: 18. p.6, numerals: “8. – Ok. (Ak?)”: should “(Ak?)” be in red? FN: no.

⁸⁰ HB: 19. p.6, numerals: “100 ...”: should “(patakon)” be in red? FN: no. N ((n. bek), HB).

CvR ‘(unkn.)’.

⁸¹ N (“twenty - *... *”+ skiling, HB)

Y

- 725 "breakfast"(midday meal.) – Frōkost.⁸²⁸³
 "Tea"(First meal of day.) – Tē.⁸⁴
 Supper. (Evening meal.) – Dīner.⁸⁵
 Dress. – Kaputu
 Handkerchief. – Nēstok.⁸⁶
- 730
- 7
- BREADMAKING.
 I'm hungry. – Me me hungro.
 I am going to make the leaven. – Me lo ma dī shīdē.⁸⁷⁸⁸
- 735 I want to bake some bread tomorrow morning. – Mī ma kē bāk som brot
 morok frufru.⁸⁹⁹⁰
 I haven't any sugar to make tea tonight, - Me no ha enten suku for ma
 t[*.*+]<e> fanda dunku.
 Clock. – klok.
- 740 -----
- Henrietta Anton, Hospital Street. Christiansted.
- Orange. – Aposhīn.⁹¹
- 745 Calabash. – Calbas.
 I tell you enough this afternoon. – Mī ka s[e+]<ē> yo gono fanda asta
 menda.⁹²

⁸² HB: 20. p.6, below: should the indications "(midday meal)", "(first meal of day)" and "(Evening meal.)" all be in red or are they original? FN: All original. Not red. N ("breakfast" (midday meal), HB)

⁸³ HB: 51. p.6, 1st line below the numerals: "Breakfast": The final <t> in *frōkost* is surprising. Do your notes say *frōkost* or *frōkos*? FN: Possibly influence of Danish *frokost* if informant had been a servant in a Danish home. Just a guess.

⁸⁴ N ((First meal of the day), HB)

⁸⁵ N ((evening meal) (Engl.), HB)

⁸⁶ Den Besten (2 november 1993): "The new document shows that *neston* 'kerchief' (Nelson 1936: 5) is indeed *nestok* (older Dutch *neusdoek*)." See *nestuk* in Nelson (1993: 17). Nelson (November 7, 1993): "Your conjecture that *neston* should be *nestok* is correct, according to my original notes." (CvR: *neston* and *nestok* both in red.)

⁸⁷ HB: 52. p.7, line 1-2: Your 1936 transcripts suggest that there or on p.6 bottom the word for 'egg' may be missing (although it is possible that you took that word from elsewhere in your notes). Is there an entry for 'egg'? FN: probably here. CvR: The Reinecke list, (14.2, p. 5) says: "egg ēyū" following the word "hungry". Since there are no sentences in this place in the Reinecke list, Den Besten supposes this list can actually be traced back to these sentences.

⁸⁸ Shīdē N

⁸⁹ HB: 53. p.7, line 3: "I want to ...": Could *ma kē* also be *mankē* ('to want')? FN: probably.

⁹⁰ Bāk N

⁹¹ N

⁹² HB: 54. p.7, line 9: "I tell you ...": Could *asta* also be *astu* (or *asto*)?

302 IV. Twentieth century sources

- You can write your book out of it. – Yo kan skrif yo bok ut f[-ra] <ol.fan>
di.⁹³⁹⁴
- 750 They're all dead now. – Dei all dō [-*mi*] nu.
Turkey. – Kalkūn.
Fowl (hen). – Hündū.⁹⁵
house. – Hūs.
hog. – F[*e*+]<a>rki.
755 Little pig. – Pig.⁹⁶
Basket. – Makutu.
Okra. – Kyambu.
Sweet potato. – Batá.
Yam. – Yamos.
760 Horse. – Kabai.⁹⁷
-
- Victoria Mossentau. 53 Hill Street. Christiansted. 73 years old in '36
Cloth. – Duku.
Turtle. – Skelpan.
765 (to) rain. – Wato lo kom. (It's going to rain. [-*...*] ??/ F/N. 1993)
Shoes. – Skōn.
Floor – Flō'.
Egg. – Ēyo.
beads. – [B/b]id.⁹⁸
770 grandmother. – Ganggang.⁹⁹
Your grandmother calls you. – Yo ganganga hōp yo.¹⁰⁰¹⁰¹
Woman. – Frō.
White man. – blanko.
Money. – Tibu.
- 775
- 8
- Bowl. – Komēnchi.

⁹³ Bok N (+būki, HB)

⁹⁴ HB: 55. p.7, line 10: "You can write...": Could *ut* also be *it*?

⁹⁵ HB: 21. p.7, Henrietta Anton, 7th line: "Fowl (hen)": should "(hen)" be in red? FN: yes, See above.

⁹⁶ N ((Eng.?), HB)

⁹⁷ Nelson (Nelson, November 7, 1993): "But kabai – horse is clearly Andalusian – South American caballo (pronounced cabayo – not Portuguese cavalo (with a clear L)." CvR: The words *kabai*, *horse* and *caballo* are in red.

⁹⁸ N ((Engl.), HB)

⁹⁹ N

¹⁰⁰ HB: 56. p.7, 4th line from below: "Your grandmother ..." Could *ganganga* also be *ganganga*? FN: probably.

¹⁰¹ HB: 57. p.7, 4th line from below: "Your grandmother ...": *hōp* 'call'. This form can also be found in your 1936 transcript. However, since there is one other case where I found an <h> that should be an <r>, I wonder whether *hōp* is actually *rōp*. FN: Possibly. Initial "r" in some languages sounds like "h" in an English ear. More probably, I mistook "r" for "h".

- Knife. – Mēs.
 780 Pumpkin. – Pampōm (pampōn?)¹⁰²
 Rooster. – Faulkak[.+]</>¹⁰³
 Hen. – Hundu.
 Sheep. – Skap.
 Goat. – Kabita.¹⁰⁴
 785 Baby. – Ken.
 Hold the child well (i.e. c/Carefully). – H[i+]<o>l di ken frai.
 The child is hungry. – Di ken me hungu.
 Kalalu. (a local dish.) – Kalalu.¹⁰⁵
 Funji. (Maise meal porridge.) – Funji¹⁰⁶.
 790 Fish. – Fēs.
 Hoe. – Hau.
 Earring. – Rangu.¹⁰⁷
 Watch. – Holochi.
 Church. – Kerk.
 795 Mother. – Muda, Mama.¹⁰⁸
 Brother. – buchi.
 Sister. – Sisi.

 Blue. – blau.
 800 Corn. (maize). Mais.
 Cane knife. (cutlass). – kutlis.
 Bucket. – Watutobo.¹⁰⁹
 Fire. – Fī.
 Give me a piece of fire. – Gĩ mĩ tēk fī.
 805 A fragment of the Lord's Prayer:
 Onsu fadu a beli di hemum, giv ons fram dak ons dakels brot ...
 Informant's lament when she could remember no more:
 "Alas it! Alas it! It gone."¹¹⁰
 Yes. – Ya.
 810 No. – Nē.¹¹¹
 Limes. – Lamonchi.
 Pepper. – Pēpu.
 9

¹⁰² HB: 22. p.8, line 3: "Pumpkin ...": should "(pampōn?)" be in red? FN: No. N

¹⁰³ N (rooster (Eng) - ??, HB)

¹⁰⁴ HB: 58. p.8, line 7: "Goat": Could *kabita* also be *kabrita*? FN: possibly.

¹⁰⁵ N

¹⁰⁶ CvR: The word *Funji* is handwritten.

¹⁰⁷ N (+orangu, HB)

¹⁰⁸ *Muda* N ((Eng.?), HB)

¹⁰⁹ N ((delen bekend), HB). CvR: '(parts known)'.

¹¹⁰ Den Besten (Den Besten, November 2, 1993): "The Lord's Prayer recited by Victoria Mossentau looks fairly Dutch with *Onsu Fadu* for *Onze Vader* en *dakels* (?) for *dagelijks*. Her lament *Alas it! Alas it!* Probably means 'I lost it! I lost it!'."

¹¹¹ N ((nieuwe vorm?), HB). CvR: '(new form?)'

304 IV. Twentieth century sources

- Orange. – Aposina.
 815 Meat. – Flois.
 <rm.Hammer. – Hambu>¹¹²
 I am going to cook a piece of meat. Me lo kak dī tēk flois.¹¹³
 Dog. – Hun.
 Shoemaker. – Skunmeka.¹¹⁴
 820 [t+]<T>alk. – Prat.
 I will take the stone and chop (sic!) you with it. –
 - Mi sal rem di stēn so kāp yo med de.¹¹⁵
 Peanuts. – Pinda.¹¹⁶
 (Pinda was still the common word for peanuts on St. Croix in 1936, and the
 825 local resident told me that a friend who had visited the Netherlands was
 amused to find it used there. F.N. 1993)

-
- 830 Rebecca Francis. St. Thomas. Born on St. Thomas.

- Basket. – Makutu
 Horse – Kabai.
 Pig. – Ferki.
 835 Chair. – Stul.
 Bed. – Bērī.
 NARRATIVE:
 I went to town. – Mi a lo a tapūs.¹¹⁷
 I went to buy flour. – Mi a lo fo' kōp mēl.
 840 I sold a chicken. – Mi a flōko en kikinchi.
 Who bought the fowl? (chicken). – Wi a kōp dī kikinchi?¹¹⁸
 A woman. – En frau.
 I charged her 25 cents. – Mī a krī fra am twenty-fi cents.¹¹⁹

 845 He went to cut the cane. – A mē lō fo' kāp thī sukustok.¹²⁰

¹¹² CvR: The addition is handwritten.

¹¹³ HB: 59. p.9, line 4: “I am going ...”: Could *kak* ‘cook’ also be *kok*? (Cf. Du. Koken ‘cook’.) FN: ?.

¹¹⁴ N ((he*1ft* Eng), HB). CvR: ‘(half Engl.)’.

¹¹⁵ HB: 60. p.9, line 8: “I will take ...”: It also *rem* ‘take’ in your 1936 transcripts. However, could *rem* also be *nem*? (Cf. Du. *nemen* ‘take’.) FN: [-Possibly]<ol.nem is correct>. Poor handwriting? mistook “r” for “n”.

¹¹⁶ N

¹¹⁷ Tapūs N

¹¹⁸ *Wi* N (who? (nieuwe vorm), HB). CvR: ‘(new form)’.

¹¹⁹ *Fra* N (from (Eng.), HB)

¹²⁰ HB: 61. p.9, 6th line from below: “He went ...”: *A mē lō fo*’ ... [i.e. *am* ‘he’ *u* (?) ‘past’]: Could *mē* also be *mā*? Or rather *mō*? FN: ?. CvR: It is rather a wrong contraction of characters. *A mē* should be written as *Am ē* ‘he PST’.

He knew it was time to cut the cane. – A mu wet de a wes tit fo'
kap thī suku stok.¹²¹

850

[-I must cook]

I must cook breakfast. – Mi ha fo kok frokes.¹²²

What's the time? – Wat o'clock?

Ten (past?) nine. – Ti ni.¹²³

855 Peanuts. – Pinda.

10

Where were you born?. – Epe yu geboren?¹²⁴

860 St. Thomas. – A Sēn Tōmaš¹²⁵

Were you anywhere else? – Yu a wēs a ēnesto andos ples?¹²⁶¹²⁷

Yes. Ya.

I was in Tortola. – Me a wes a T[a+]<o>tola.

Donkey. – Noli.

865 Cow. – Kui.

Fowl. – Hundu.

Cat. – Pushi.

<rm.Dog. – han.>¹²⁸¹²⁹

House. – Hus.

870 Rat. – Roto.

Oven. – Oven.

Stocking. – Kaus<*e*>n.¹³⁰

Socks. – Sāx.¹³¹

Hat. – Hūt.

875 Tree – Bom.

The child is sick. – Thi ken mi sik.

Baby. – Bebi.¹³²

Cart. – Karoshi.

¹²¹ HB: 62. p.9, 5th line from below: "He knew ...": *A mu wet* ... [i.e. *am* 'he' *u* (?) 'past']:
Could *mu* also be *ma*? FN: yes, ma. CvR: See note 171 of HB.

¹²² HB: 63. p.9, 4th line from below: "I must ...". Could *frokes* also be *frokos*? FN: probably.

¹²³ HB: 64. p.9, 2nd line from below: REMARK about "Ten (past?) nine. – Ti ni.": I guess
this is NH *tin i* from Du. *tien uur* 'ten o'clock'. FN: probably.

¹²⁴ *Geboren* N ((nieuwe vorm), HB). CvR: '(new form)'

¹²⁵ CvR: The <š> is in the typescript presented as an <s> with a vertical line above of it.

¹²⁶ *Andos* N ((loc.) (nieuwe vorm), HB). CvR: '(new form)'.

¹²⁷ *Ples* N ((Eng), HB)

¹²⁸ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

¹²⁹ HB: 65. p.10, line 10: "Dog": Could *han* also be *hon*? (Cf. Du. *hond* 'dog').

¹³⁰ N

¹³¹ N

¹³² N ((Eng), HB)

306 IV. Twentieth century sources

- Needle. – Nal.
880 Threa[*t*+]<d> - Garen.
Knife. – Mes.
Get my ox (axe?) – Kri mi ax.
Lampara. – Lamp.¹³³
(Informa[t+]<n>t said “lampara, that Spanish”; it was not clear whether
885 she meant that the word for lamp was the same in [*.*+]<C>reole and
Spanish or whether she had inadvertently given me a word she had picked up
from Spanish. F. N.)¹³⁴
Candle. – Kēēs.
Cheese. – Kās
890 Milk. – Meluk.
Potato. – Batíta.
Bread. – Brot.
Fight. – [-Feketij]. Fēket[i+]<é>.¹³⁵
Kill. – Mata.

895

11

- I am going to saw womething.¹³⁶ – Mi a lo sa en got.¹³⁷
Window. – Wenstu.
open the window. – Hopo th' wenstu.¹³⁸
Put something on the table[.+]</>- Du th'got bo th' tafl.
Bottle. – Botl.
Door. – Do'.
Shut the door. – Tu thī do'.
905 Good morning. – Morūk.¹³⁹
Tomorrow. – Morūk.
Tomorrow morning. – Mōrūk frūfrū.
Tomorrow afternoon. – Moru[*s*+]<k> asta mēndā.¹⁴⁰
Book. – Bok, būki.¹⁴¹

¹³³ N

¹³⁴ HB: 23. p.10, below: sub “Lampara ...”: shouldn't the long comment “(Informant said ... Spanish. F.N.)” be in red, or is it original? FN: Original, I believe.

¹³⁵ HB: 66. p.10, 2nd line from below: “Fight”: Is it *fēketé* or *fēketē*? FN: ? clearly accent is on last syllable.

¹³⁶ Typescript FV: [w+]<s>omething.

¹³⁷ *Sa* N

¹³⁸ HB: 67. p.11, line 1-3: In view of your 1936 transcripts, is it possible that here an entry for ‘gourd’ (*sōt gō*, *sōt kālabās*) is missing? FN: ? If so, supply them. CvR: In the Reinecke list some separate words are included which are from sentences which are here in the Nelson list. The line to add, should be : *gourd sōt/gō*, *sōt kālabās*.

¹³⁹ N ((nieuwe bet*.*) +morok, HB). CvR: ‘(new meaning?)’.

¹⁴⁰ HB: 68. p.11, line 11: “Tomorrow afternoon”: Could *asta* also be *astu*, or *asto*?

¹⁴¹ Den Besten (Den Besten, November 2, 1993): “Furthermore, instead of *biki* ‘book’ (Nelson 1936: 6) you now give *buki*, which is the form I expected (a Dutch diminutive).”

910 Give me the book. – Da me th' būki.¹⁴²

NUMERALS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. ěn | 30. – Dertik |
| 2. – twē. | 31. – En me'dirtik. |
| 3. – drī. | [-32]40. – Firtik |
| 915 4. – Fī | 50. Fēvtik. |
| 5. – fēv. | 60. Sēstik. |
| 6. [s+]<S>ēs. | 70. Sēwentik. |
| 7. Sēūn. | 80. – Aktik |
| 8. – Ak. | 90. – Nēgontik. |
| 920 9. – Nēgon. | 100. – Ěn hūndert. |
| 10. – ten. | |
| 11. – Ellef. | |
| 12. – Twaluf. | |
| 13. – dertín. | |
| 925 14. – Fētín. | |
| 15. – Fevtín. | |
| 16. Sestín. | |
| 17. – Sewentín. | |
| 18. – [a+]<A>ktín | |
| 930 19. – Negentín. | |
| 20. – Twentí, Enskeling. | |
| 21. – En me' twenty[e+]<i>. | |
| 22. – [t+]<T>we me' twenti. | |

935 12

NARRATIVE

- I went to a dance last night. – Mi a lo en dans gestu dunku.
 It went on well. – De a lo pan frai.
 It had (there was) a fight. – Der ha en fēkētē.
 940 The people was (sic!) well drunk. – thi folok a wes weld rung.
 It has (there were) police and take them in (to) the fort. – Der has
 setēris an ne sene a de fo't.¹⁴³
 I don't know what they will do with them. – As nē wet sen sa du me'
 sendu.¹⁴⁴¹⁴⁵
 945 It was a drum dance. – De [-wes*s*] wes drum dans.¹⁴⁶

CvR: In the Reinecke list (14.2, p. 6) there is also *būk* and the Nelson list (14.3 p. 7 en 11) has *bok*.

¹⁴² Da N (Ib.) of = t*a*/lasta?, HB)

¹⁴³ setēris N

¹⁴⁴ HB: 69. p.12, line 7: "I don't know ...": It is also *nē* in your 1936 transcript. However, could *nē* also be *nō*?

¹⁴⁵ HB: 70. P.12, line 7: "I don't know ...": After *wet* something like *wat* 'what' seems to be missing, which does show up in your 1936 transcript. Is that correct? And is it *wat* or *wāt*?
 CvR: The Reinecke list (14.2) has this sentence as follows: "As nē wet wāt sēn sa dū me sendū."

Tomorrow we will know. – Moruk ons sa'wet.

Give me a piece of bread. – Giv mi stēki brot.

I am very hungry.<-> Mi mi frai hungu.

950 Give me 5 cents. – [*.*+]<G>iv mi fai cents.

Let me buy bread. – Sta mi ko brot.

CHRISTMAS BEGGING DANCE. Groups of dancers under a “Laren”
(Queen of the dance) used to sin[-*.*]g this song as they made the rounds of
955 merchants and plantation-owners’ houses o[*f*+]<n> Christmas Eve, New
Years’ Eve, and Whit Monday. F.N. 1993

Today is Christmas Eve. – Fandē n[o+]<a> Gro Sunda,

Water me (give me drink) Laren. – Wato mī, Laren, wato mī.¹⁴⁷¹⁴⁸¹⁴⁹

960 Water me to my head-side. – Water mī na mi kop shi.¹⁵⁰

Water me, Laren, water me. – Wato mi, Laren, wato mi.

Hand me the guava berry (wine). – Han mī dī guava bër[e+]<i>.

Water me etc. [-*.*] Watu me, Laren, wato mi.¹⁵¹

965

Informants Jeremiah Hatchett and Mary Francis from Smith Bay.

Horse. – Kabai. Twenty. – [s+]<S>kiling.

Mule. – Buriko.¹⁵² Pen – Pen.¹⁵³¹⁵⁴

970 Donkey. – Noli. Paper – Pampi.

Go fast. – Lo gau. Good Morning. – Morok

Go slow. – Lo suchi. Goodbye – Ajos.

Friend. – Frend. Good Afternoon. – Frai asa men dag¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁶ *Drum N* ((Eng.), HB), *drum dans N*

¹⁴⁷ HB: 24. p.12, the Christmas begging dance, line 2: is “(give me drink)” original or should it be in red? FN: in red.

¹⁴⁸ *Laren N* (queen of the dance, HB)

¹⁴⁹ Wato mī *N*

¹⁵⁰ HB: 71. p.12, Christmas begging dance, line 3: In this line pops up, on the NH side, the word *water* instead of the usual *wato*, while your 1936 transcript has here *wato*, and not *water*. What do your notes say: *water* or *wato*?

¹⁵¹ HB: 72. p.12, Christmas begging dance, line 6: On the NH side pops up a stray example of *me* instead of the usual *mi*. (The 1936 transcripts have *mi* here.) What do your notes say: *me* or *mi*?

¹⁵² HB: 73. p.12, 3rd line below the begging dance, lefthand side: “Mule”: could *buriko* also be *burika*?

¹⁵³ HB: 74. p.12, below the begging dance: Your 1936 transcript gives the impression that you may have left out an entry Street. – Stra^et. Here. Is that correct? And where should it be inserted? HB corrects de a^e in æ.

¹⁵⁴ *N*

¹⁵⁵ HB: 75. p.12, 7th line from below the begging dance, righthand side: “Good Afternoon”: Could *asa* also be *asta* or *astu* or *asto* or maybe *asu* or *aso*?

- Godmother. Mimá.¹⁵⁶
- 975 13
- Hand.- han.
Foot. –Fütū.
980 Leg. – Běl.¹⁵⁷
Head. – Kop.
Chin. – Kāk
Eyes. – hogo.
Teeth. – Tan.
985 <rm.Tongue. – Tung>¹⁵⁸
Thumb. – Tum.¹⁵⁹
Finger. – Fingu.
Nose. – Nēs.
Cheeks. –Gīsē.
990 Hair. – Har.
Eyebrows. – Hogobrai.¹⁶⁰¹⁶¹
Ears. – Ho.
Lips. – Lip.¹⁶²
Mouth. – Mūn.
995 Arm. – ěrum.
Belly – Bik.
Stone. – Stēn.
Tree. – Bom.
Cat. – Pūshi
1000 [a+]<A>xe. – Kāpmes, Bīl.¹⁶³
Rain. – Regon.
Sun. – Sun.
Sky. – Hem[-*l*]l.
Star. – Sterne.
1005 Full moon. – Ful mān.
sea. – Zē
Waves. – Weg.¹⁶⁴¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁶ N

¹⁵⁷ N ((partly new m.), HB)

¹⁵⁸ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

¹⁵⁹ N ((Eng?), HB)

¹⁶⁰ HB: 76. p.13, line 14: "Eyebrows": Also the 1936 transcripts give *hogobrai*. Could it also be *hogobrau*? FN: ?.

¹⁶¹ N

¹⁶² N (+lep, HB). CvR: '(and *lep*)'. This is another spelling of the word *lip*.

¹⁶³ Bīl N

¹⁶⁴ HB: 77. p.13, 7th line from below: "Waves": The 1936 <ol.transcripts> have a similar form: *wēg*. Since I cannot etymologize this form, I wonder whether it might be *wef* (< Eng. *wave*). Or maybe *wey* 'wave (with ones hand)' (< Du. *waaien*).

¹⁶⁵ N

310 IV. Twentieth century sources

- Candle. – Kēs.
My sister. – Mi shishi.
1010 Brother. – Buchi.
Father. – Popā.
Mother. – Momā.
Weary. – Mu.

1015 14

Informant: Margaret Tadman. Born East End. Doesn't know age.

- Mind your own business. – Pasa yo egon aferon.¹⁶⁶¹⁶⁷
1020 Go to Hell. – Lo a Hel.
Heaven. – Hemol.
Children, come take your tea. – Ken, ko ne yo te.
No. – Nēn.
It is [*.*+]<h>ot. – Di me' het.
1025 The Devil is never good. – Thi Dibl neve' frai.¹⁶⁸
Wash your face. – Was yo gese.
Go sleep. – Go slap.

Informant: Isabela Sylvester, Born on St. John in 1853; grew up there
1030 And on Tortola. 83 years old when interviewed in 1936.

- A little of it. – Bechi van dī.¹⁶⁹
I was born in 1853. – Mi a gebor di yar a[*t*+]<k>tin fefti dri.
Lady. – Frau.¹⁷⁰
1035 Minister. – Domni.
Church. – Kerk.
Girl. – Menshi.
<rm.Boy. – Yūn.>¹⁷¹
House. – (Engl.) house.
1040 Glass. (mirror) – glās.¹⁷²
Bowl. – Komēnchi.
Spoon. - leppu.
I am going to town. – Mi lolo a tapūs.
Town. – Tapūs.

¹⁶⁶ HB: 78. p.14, line 2: "Mind your ...": Your 1936 transcripts have *paso*, the 'correct' form. Could *pasa* also be *paso*? (Cf. Du. *pas op*.) FN: probably paso

¹⁶⁷ Aferon N

¹⁶⁸ Neve' N ((Eng), HB)

¹⁶⁹ Nelson (Nelson, November 14, 1993): "If I had been familiar with Dutch and the conventions of Dutch orthography, I would probably have used it and so missed Isabela Sylvester's "Standard" van and ze in contrast to the usual fan and se."

¹⁷⁰ N ((nieuwe bet), HB). CvR: '(new meaning)'.

¹⁷¹ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

¹⁷² N ((Eng?), HB)

- 1045 In the country. – a plantai.
 Pretty girl. – Moi menshi.
 Bring the horse. – Bring en kabai.
 Soursap. – sazaka.
 Mamai (tropical fruit) – Mamai.¹⁷³
 1050 Sugar apple. – apul.¹⁷⁴
 Papaya. – Papai.¹⁷⁵
 Corn. – Mais.
 Potatoes. – [-Bat[a+]<í>ta.] <rm.Batita>
 Fry. – Bak.
 1055 Fry fish. – Bak fës.
 Bake bread. – Bak brod.

15

- 1060 Flour. – Mel.
 Cornmeal. – Farnya.¹⁷⁶
 Sneeze. – Nis.¹⁷⁷
 Cry. – Nis.¹⁷⁸¹⁷⁹
 Yell. – skreo.
 1065 Knee. – Kĩní.
 Back. – Rege.
 Leg. – Futu.¹⁸⁰
 A dance. – en dans.
 <lm.A> Dance – ribot.¹⁸¹
 1070 Drum. – Drum.
 Beat the drum .<ol.-> Lo sla di drum.
 (He got) drunk and fought. ... drung an fekete.
 Rum. – Sopi.
 Eat. – Yët.
 1075 Tanya (a fruit) – [-[k+]<J>ankil] Jank'l.¹⁸²

¹⁷³ N¹⁷⁴ N ((n. bet), HB). CvR: '(new meaning)'.¹⁷⁵ N¹⁷⁶ Nelson (Nelson, November 7, 1993): "(...) and farnya – maize meal – must be Portuguese farinha rather than Spanish h[-arina] harina." CvR: The words *farnya*, *maize meal* and *harina* are in red.¹⁷⁷ N¹⁷⁸ Nelson (Nelson, November 7, 1993): "Cry- Kris." (CvR: in red.) Typescript FV: [-Nis.]<Kris>.¹⁷⁹ HB. 79. p.15, line 3-4: Your 1936 transcripts suggest that here an entry *Laugh*. – *Lak*. is missing. Is that correct? And where should it be inserted? CvR: In the Reinecke list, (14.2 p. 2) after *sneeze* and before *cry*. HB used the layout as could have been used by FN in his typescript.¹⁸⁰ N ((n. bet), HB). CvR: '(new meaning)'.¹⁸¹ N

- Shark. – Hai.
 Bay. – Bai.
 Drown. – Draun.¹⁸³
 <rm. Swim. – Zwim.>¹⁸⁴
 1080 Sea water. – Ze water.
 Marry, wedding. – trau.¹⁸⁵
 Man and woman go marry. – Man me frau lo trau.
 Sweetheart. – fristu.
 Spectacles, - Hogokiku.¹⁸⁶
 1085 Goat. – Kabrita.
 Cow. – kui.
 Bull. – Bül.¹⁸⁷
 Butcher a pig. – [-*..*] Mata di ferki.¹⁸⁸
 White man. – Bukra, blanko.
 1090 Sleepy. – Slapri.¹⁸⁹
 Understand me? – Yo fo'stan mi?
 Today is New Year's Eve. – Fanda la [-au] <ol.hau> ya dunku.¹⁹⁰¹⁹¹¹⁹²
 I'm going to tell you something. – Me lo se yo en got.
 Butter. – botu.
 1095 Smoke. – smōk.
 I've forgotten. – Mi ka frogit.
- 26 <rm.16>¹⁹³
- 1100 Letter. – Bref.
 Trousers. – bruk.
 Shirt. – hemete.
 Shirt and pants. – Hemete me' bruk.
 Necktie. – Kruwat.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸² HB: 80. p.15, line 16: “Tanya”: Could *jank'l* also be *jankól* or *jankōl*? (It is *jankōl* in your 1936 transcripts.) FN: probably [-*j..k.ōl*] jankōl.

¹⁸³ N ((Eng.), HB)

¹⁸⁴ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

¹⁸⁵ N ((n. cat + bet), HB). CvR: ‘(new category and meaning)’.

¹⁸⁶ N ((betere vorm), HB). CvR: ‘(better form)’.

¹⁸⁷ N ((Eng?), HB)

¹⁸⁸ HB: 81. p.15, 9th line from below: “Butcher ...”: Your 1936 transcripts suggest that here somewhere an entry *Pork*. – *Spek*. is missing. Is that correct? And where should it be inserted? FN: Probably after “Butcher a pig”. CvR: In Reinecke list (14.2, p. 2 between *bull* en *understand*.

¹⁸⁹ N

¹⁹⁰ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

¹⁹¹ HB: 82. p.15, 5th line from below: “Today is ...”: The word *la* is surprising. Could it be *ka*, maybe? FN: Probably *ka*. CvR: I would rather expect here a form of ‘to be’, for instance *na*. and not PRF *ka*.

¹⁹² Hau ya dunku N

¹⁹³ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

- 1105 Clock. – Klok.
 Ring. – Ring.¹⁹⁵
 Comb your head. – Kam yo kop.
 Hair. – har.
 Wash clothes. – Was duku.
- 1110 Plate. – Bak.
 Cup. – [-kani] Kaninchi.
 Candle. – Kees.¹⁹⁶
 Fire. – Fi.
 <rm.The house burned down. – [-Di] Dī hūs ka brān.>¹⁹⁷
- 1115 Watch your step. Mind you don't fall. Paso hoso yo wandu. Moin yo no fal.
 I have stungled.¹⁹⁸ – Mi ka mese fal.¹⁹⁹
 Sweep the house. – Fek di hus.
 Take the broom. – Ne di bezum.²⁰⁰
 Wipe your feet on the mat. – Fek yo fot bo di mat.²⁰¹²⁰²
- 1120 The fowl (hen) is there on the roof of the house. – Di hundu bin da
 bo di hus.
 It has flown upon the house. –Ka flik bo di hus.
- Board. (plank) – Plang.
- 1125 Bedclothes. – Bede.²⁰³
 Pillow. – Kizinchi.
 Sheet. – La'k'n.²⁰⁴²⁰⁵
 Beans. – Bonchi.
 The baby is sick. Di ken me sik.²⁰⁶
- 1130 Doctor. – Dokto.
 Has called the doctor. Ka rup di dokto.
 Now – nu.

¹⁹⁴ N¹⁹⁵ N (to ring? (Eng), HB)¹⁹⁶ HB: 83. p.16, line 13: "Candle": Is there some diacritic missing in *kees*? FN: ?. CvR: After all, the Reinecke list (14.2, p. 6) says: "[-kēes]<ul.kēes>".¹⁹⁷ CvR: Addition is handwritten.¹⁹⁸ Nelson (Nelson, November 7, 1993): "I have stumbled." (CvR: in red.) Typescript FV: stu[m+]<*. *>gled.¹⁹⁹ *Mese fal* N ((etym?), HB)²⁰⁰ *Bezum* N ((wel in *comb?*, HB). CvR: '(however in combination?)'.²⁰¹ Den Besten (Den Besten, November 2, 1993): "Isabella Sylvester's *bo* in the sense of 'on (the roof of) ' and 'upon' in two sentences said by her, however, most probably does not reflect Danish *paa* (*på*). It derives from Dutch *boven* via Creole Dutch *abo/abobo/nabobo*, which consists of the all-purpose locative preposition *na* and *bobo* (from Du. *boven*)."²⁰² Mat N²⁰³ HB: 84. p.16, 16th line from below: *Bedclothes. – Bede*. Is a bit surprising since NH *bede* means 'bed'. I would expect something like *bede duku* or simply *duku*. Is it possible that two entries have been conflated here?²⁰⁴ HB: 85. p.16, 14th line from below: "Sheet": Is *la'k'n* maybe *lāk'n* of *lák'n*? Or is it *lak'n*?²⁰⁵ N²⁰⁶ Sik N

314 IV. Twentieth century sources

- Oil. – Oli.
 Leaf. – Bla
- 1135 Chicken. – Kikinch.
 To call little chickens. – Chipchipchip.²⁰⁷
 Porch, gallery. – Galri.
 Kitchen. – Kambus.
 Bedchamber. – Kambu.
- 1140 Parlor. – Hal.²⁰⁸
- [-27]<rm.17>
- The boat is going to sail tomorrow. – Di bot lo zel moruk.²⁰⁹
 Money. – Stibu.
- 1145 Kerchief. – Nestuk.
 Pocket handkerchief. – Saknestuk.
 Belt. – Belt.²¹⁰
 Pettycoat. – Seya.
 Dress. – Kaputo.
- 1150 Cistern. – Regolbak.
 Bu*y*ket.²¹¹ Bokuto.
 Shoes and socks. – Skun me' kaus'n.
 Stole a chicken. – Ka dif en kichenchi.
 Go climb the hill. Lo klim di berge.
- 1155 I have seen him coming. Mi ka ki [-lo] kom lo ko.²¹²
 Sew. – [-Naii] Nai.
 Go plant beans. – Lo plant bonchi.
 Jump.<ol.-> Lep op.²¹³
 Build a house. – Ma en hus.
- 1160 Cut.<ol.-> - Kap.
 [t+]<T>o walk. Wandu.
 To work. – weruk.
 To kneel. – Lo kini.²¹⁴
 Guts. <ol.-> Derum.
- 1165 [-*Heart.-Hea]
 Heart. – Ha't.
 Bowels. – Bik.
 The cow's horn. – Di kui horn.
 Kinepa (fruit). – kinepa.²¹⁵

²⁰⁷ N

²⁰⁸ N ((n. bet), HB). CvR: '(new meaning)'.

²⁰⁹ Zel N ((Eng? *h*), HB)

²¹⁰ N ((Eng), HB)

²¹¹ Typescript FV: [B+]u[*.*+]<c>ket.

²¹² HB: 86. p.17, line 13: "I have seen ...": Could *kom* 'him' also be *kam* or *ham*? FN: probably ham I may have read h as k.

²¹³ N ((n. comb.), HB). CvR: '(new combination)'.

²¹⁴ N

- 1170 Nail. – Nal.²¹⁶
 Thread. – Garen.
 I like to sing. – Mi sa wil fo sing.
 I want to sing. – Mi manke (mauke?) sing.
 Song. – Sang.
- 1175 Red. – Ro.
 Green. – Grun.
 Red. Ro.²¹⁷
 Black. Swart.
 Blue. Blau.
- 1180 White. – Wet.

28²¹⁸ <rm.18>²¹⁹

- Lip. – Lep.
- 1185 Duck. Patchipachi.²²⁰²²¹
 A piece of wood. Stele hautu.²²²
 Charcoal. – Kol.
 Brazier. – Kolpot.²²³
 Breakfast. – Frukos.
- 1190 Dinner. – Dine.
 Supper. – Supa.²²⁴
 Okra. Kyambo.
 Callylou (a local dish) – Kalalou.²²⁵
 Stew. – Sto.²²⁶
- 1195 Soursap. – Tizan.²²⁷²²⁸

²¹⁵ HB: 87. p.17, 12th line from below: "Kinepa ...": The NH translation is also *kinepa*, whereas the 1936 transcripts give *kenepi*. Could you check your notes again? CvR: In Reinecke list (14.2 p. 1) it says: "quinepa (fruit) kenepi".

²¹⁶ HB: 88. p.17, 11th line from below: *Nail. – Nal.* is surprising because NH *nal* means 'needle'. Do your notes really say *nail*?

²¹⁷ HB: 89. p.17, 6th and 4th lines from below: Two times *Red. – Ro.* Is that correct?

²¹⁸ Typescript FV: [-28]

²¹⁹ CvR: Addition is handwritten.

²²⁰ HB: 90. p.18, line 2: "Duck": In your 1936 I found the form *pāch-pāchi*. Could you check your note book whether it is *patchipatchi* or *patch-patchi*? Nelson (7 november 1993): "(...) I believe I've found the origin of patchpachi for duck: Spanish pato (duck) plus a Dutch diminutive, reduplicated." (CvR: The words *patchpachi*, *pato* and *duck* are in red.)

²²¹ N((n. vorm), HB). CvR: '(new form)'.

²²² HB: 91. p.18, line 3: "A pieche of wood": Could *stele* also be *steke*? (Cf. Du. *stukkie*.) FN: probably may have misread "l" as "k". CvR: A typing error seems obvious, since the keys for <k> and <l> are next to each other on a typewriter.

²²³ N

²²⁴ N((E), HB)

²²⁵ HB: 92. p.18, line 10: "Callylou": Does your notebook give NH *kalalou* or *kalalu*?

²²⁶ N

316 IV. Twentieth century sources

- Earring. – Orangu.
 Gold. Gaut.
 Bead. – Kalela.²²⁹
 Silver. Selvu.
 1200 to iron. [s+]<S>tr[*.*+]<i>k.²³⁰
 Fold clothes. – Fau di duku.²³¹
 Sprinkle clothes. – Sprink'l.²³²²³³
 Chicken feather. – Hundu plim.²³⁴
 Ghost, spook. – Ges, Jumbi.
 1205 Grass. – Beshet.
 Ground. Grand.²³⁵
 The sea is high. – Di ze me hok.
 Scissors. – Skeh.²³⁶
 Boat. – Bot.
 1210 A little tin [g+]oat. – Bato, Kano.²³⁷
 Dane. – Dansko.²³⁸
 Get wet. – Kri nat. (kri wat?)

²²⁷ Nelson (7 november 1993): “But I wonder if tizan for soursap might not be French tisane? I have memories of someone – an English speaker – referring to fruit juice as tisane in ’36.” (CvR: The words *tizan*, *soursap* and *tisane* are in red.)

²²⁸ N ((n. b?), HB). CvR: ‘(new meaning?)’.

²²⁹ N

²³⁰ N

²³¹ Fau N

²³² HB: 93. p.18, 11th line from below: “Sprinkle clothes”: The word *duku* seems to be missing in the NH translation, although that would be understandable in view of the previous entry. Nevertheless, could you check whether your notebook gives *sprink'l* or *sprink'l duku*?

²³³ N

²³⁴ *Plim* N ((n.b?), HB). CvR: ‘(new meaning?)’.

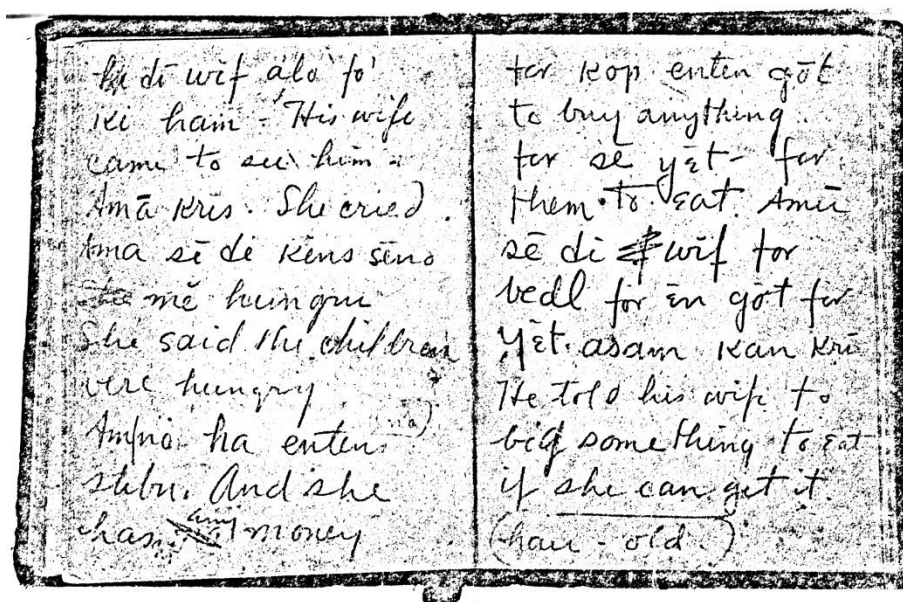
²³⁵ HB: 94. p.18, 7th line from below: “Ground”: Could *grand* also be *grond*? (Cf. Du. *grond* ‘ground’.)

²³⁶ HB: 95. p.18, 5th line from below: “Scissors”: Could *skeh* also be *sker*? (This would be a dialectal variant for Du. *schaar* ‘scissors’. Also compare *hōp* ‘call’ above, which may be *rōp*.) FN: I probably misread r as h.

²³⁷ Bato N

²³⁸ HB: 96. p.18, 2nd line from below: “Dane”: Your 1936 transcripts give NH *Dēn*, *Dānsko*. Is it possible that *Dēn* is missing here? FN: probably.

14.4 Photo copy of field notes 1936 from letter Nelson (July 18, 1996)



(18.3x12 cm)

- [-he] dī wif álo fo²³⁹
 1215 ki ham. His wife
 came to see him.
 Am ā kris. She cried.
 Ama sē de kens sēnd
 [-*sh*ee] mē hungru
 1220 She said the children
 were hungry
 Am|no ha entens *(na)*
 stibu. And she
 has<n't> [-*no] <ol.any> money
 1225 [new page]
 for kop enten gōt
 to buy anything
 for se yēt for
 them to eat. Amū
 1230 sē di [-f] wif for
 bedl for ēn gōt for

²³⁹ CvR: This extract can be found in 14.3, line 662-669.

318 IV. Twentieth century sources

yēt asam kan krī
He told his wife to
beg something to eat
1235 if she can get it.
(hau – old.)²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ Nelson did not include this last note at this place in his typescript of 1993. The words do appear on p.1, line 485 of the Nelson list (14.3).

15. The diary of De Josselin de Jong¹²

The philological perspective does not only present insight in the texts themselves, but, as is shown earlier in this dissertation (see for instance chapters 6 and 14), may also clarify the circumstances under which texts were composed. When Hesseling's *Het Negerhollandsch der Deensche Antillen* appeared in 1905, it was presumed that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole had died out. The only indications of some last remnants were the sentences which Hesseling obtained from Reverend Greider (in Hesseling 1905) and the so-called Magens-letter (in Schuchardt 1914). However, when the Dutch scholar J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong participated in a Danish-Dutch archaeological expedition to St. Thomas and St. John in 1922-1923, he took along his copy of Hesseling's standard work, and surprisingly found out that the language was still spoken by some. After returning from the Caribbean, De Josselin de Jong published two works about twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. *Het Huidige Negerhollands* (1926), which was dedicated to D.C. Hesseling, became of considerable importance because of the discovery of remaining speakers of the Creole and the presentation of a large body of texts in what has been assumed to be the genuine Dutch Creole of these alleged last speakers. In this chapter, I will focus on the use of the diary, which De Josselin de Jong kept to understand the circumstances under which those texts were composed. In this diary, the focus is on archaeology; however, the metalinguistic comments made provide some insight into the linguistic fieldwork that he did in his spare time.

15.1 Introduction: J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong

In the history of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, the disappearance of the language was announced at various times. There are also several publications in which this language was reported to be still spoken. Van Name (1871) was enthusiastic about Frederico Antonio Camps, from Havana, who moved to St. Thomas when he was six years old; Schuchardt (Schuchardt 1914: 127-133) received a letter in 1883 which was written by a semi-speaker.³ Hesseling received some simple sentences from Moravian bishop Greider. When De Josselin de Jong arrived on St Thomas in 1922, he again found some speakers and, as we have seen in chapter 13, in 1936 Nelson still found some remaining speakers. In the 1960s, Gilbert Sprauve spoke to some

¹ This diary was originally preserved in the archives of Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leyden. From 2015 onward this collection is stored in the Leyden University Library. The diary can be consulted at the Special Collections, Signature: OR 385 (5-6).

² Thank you, Robbert van Sluijs, for your very useful comments on my text.

³ "I thought that for me the best way to make you understand the right way of speaking the Creole language, is to write you in the Creole, for as far as I can. I do not know much about it, but what I know, I write to you with pleasure. I do not know how to spell the words beautifully, I spell them according to how I hear them when I hear the people. I have asked a girl from an old Creole family to help me. I have asked her in English what I could not say myself, and she told me how to say it in creole. In this way, I think I will give you a good understanding of the language." Schuchardt (1914: 127), my translation.

surviving native speakers. It is not the intention to write an extensive biography of J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong; however for scholars interested in the study of twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, it is important to know more about his background in order to place his work on Creole in some perspective.

In 1992 Effert published a study of the early career (1910-1935) of De Josselin de Jong in which the archaeological expedition to St. Thomas and St. John, is included along with a bibliography of De Josselin de Jong's publications and lectures (Effert 1992: 93-107).⁴⁵

As I stated in chapter 5, the diary not only presents bare information about the fieldwork, De Josselin de Jong also gives information about his informants, whom he explicitly thanks in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7-8). The text yields insights into the way he got in contact with his informants, the time he needed and used to collect material and the written material he studied and collected during his stay on St. Thomas and St. John.

15.2 The diary itself

Among material from De Josselin de Jong's Indonesian fieldwork, only one cahier refers to the archaeological expedition of De Josselin de Jong and the Danish archaeologist Gudmund Hatt to the Caribbean from 1922-1923.

The brown diary (see fig. 1) is 20 x 29 cm. On the cover, it reads in black ink: *Dagboek betr. expeditie naar de Antillen 19 Nov. 1922 – 24 Aug. 1923* ('Diary on expedition to the Antilles'). On the inside of the cover, De Josselin de Jong lists his main contacts and some of their birthdays. From a linguistic perspective, it is interesting to know who played a role in finding speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. On the inside of the cover he presents the contacts related to churches: 'Rev. A.B. Romig Nisky, St. Thomas, Rev. en dr. Penn, Emmaus St. John, Dr. P. Mortensen – Canaan, St. Thomas, Laub – St. Thomas.'

The following text is composed in the format of a diary. All days are described in short sentences day by day. All descriptions of the days consist of a short note about the weather and physical conditions.

Most of the content is related to the archaeological expedition itself. Although these descriptions of finding sites and places to dig, the work with local people, the historical findings and the relation between all members of the team are entertaining and of interest for Caribbean archaeology and anthropology, I will focus on the linguistic fieldwork.

De Josselin de Jong (1926) contains a wealth of information regarding early twentieth century spoken Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which was widely believed to be no longer in existence. Although this material is often studied, not much is known

⁴ Bibliography by F.R. Effert and H.F. Vermeulen.

⁵ Although Effert mainly focusses on archaeological work, he also pays attention to the Josselin de Jong's activities related to the Creole language. He cites some remarks from the diary that De Josselin de Jong kept during his expedition (Effert 1992: 36, 38, 39); alongside that, we find comments about the presentation of his linguistic findings (Efferts 1992: 48, 52). On p. 54-56 Effert presents interesting information about the publications, for example in relation to his anthropological perspective on the linguistic material collected.

about the circumstances under which it was collected. How did De Josselin de Jong get in contact with people knowing about or even speaking the language, and how did he perform his fieldwork? The diary also includes some remarks about written texts. In the following section, I will present my findings.

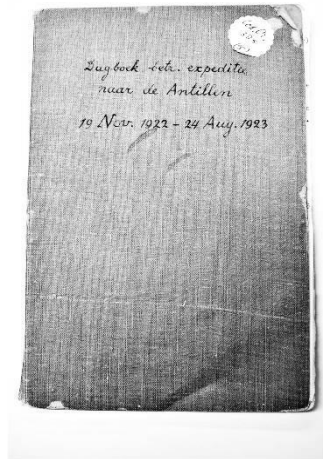


Figure 1: Cover of Diary

15.3 Contacts and fieldwork

On the 13th of December 1922, De Josselin de Jong arrived at St. Thomas. On the 14th, he met Mr. and Mrs. Holst, who collected folklore and Mrs. Holst told De Josselin de Jong that she thought that there were still some people of African origin who knew Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.⁶ De Josselin de Jong added to this that he supposed it to be a lingua franca of later origin than Virgin Islands Dutch Creole that he knew from the written sources he had used for his preparation of fieldwork.

On the December 17th, Mr. Thiele, whom De Josselin de Jong had met at the Holst family,⁷ confirmed that the so-called *Creoolsch* 'Creole', which was spoken by some on St. Thomas and by many on St. John, was indeed Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Many speakers could be found on St. John.

During the following weeks, the first archaeological sites were visited and most of De Josselin's notes are related to this. Help was needed, excavated materials needed to be stored and shipped, etcetera. In the meanwhile, he read Hesseling from time to time. On January 1st, he wrote that he had the intention of reading the copy of Hesseling (1905) that he had taken along. On January 7th, he mentioned reading part of it.

On January 30th, De Josselin de Jong had an appointment with bishop Greider. While Hesseling was preparing his monograph (1905: 32-34), he had asked this English speaking bishop whether Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was still spoken. Greider replied to Hesseling on January 31st 1904:

⁶ De Josselin de Jong uses the term *Negerhollandsch*. He based this terminology on Hesseling (1905).

⁷ Both the Holst family and Mr. Thiele were Danish.

‘The language in its purity is now spoken by a very few old people, principally those living in the country districts. The younger generation speak a mixed dialect that is called Creole, but it contains very many English words ... Our people [so the more civilized black people, who do not live in the almost abandoned country (my translation)] speak a comparatively pure English and there is no patois like in the French or Dutch islands. In fact, if any one wished to study the language as it now is spoken, it would be best to do it immediately.’ (Hesseling 1905: 33-34)

Greider also presented Hesseling with some examples of the ‘bastard Creole’ of the younger generation who were not yet entirely anglicized. The term ‘bastard Creole’ suggests that there was also a ‘pure’ Creole. I suppose it was this quote, which triggered De Josselin de Jong to make his visit. Greider informed De Josselin de Jong that there were still several old people to be found at the eastern side of the island who spoke Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and gave him some addresses.

On January 31st, Mrs. Holst told De Josselin de Jong that there were still some people in town who spoke Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. She knew several of them. However, it took another week before he finally met any native speakers.

On February 6th, the members of the expedition were excavating a new site, which was on the property of the Moravian Church. Reverend Romig of the Moravian Brethren visited the site in the morning and said he knew some old people who knew Creole: the Prince brothers from Mosquito Bay. After waiting for the two old men to finish their breakfast, which had taken place after working on the land, De Josselin de Jong and Romig talked with them:

‘One of them can read and appears to understand the letter which was published by Schuchardt entirely.⁸ They are probably useful, although they do not have their original vocabulary ready.’

They made an appointment to meet again the next day in order for De Josselin de Jong decide whether he could work with them. He hoped to get them telling stories. There was a problem with this, however as they did not have much time and could not spend more than two hours a day on this. De Josselin de Jong supposed that they would have more time when their work was going well. He also supposed that the presence of their Reverend made them self-conscious.

Afterwards, De Josselin de Jong went to Romig’s home, where he was shown three books written in Creole: a hymnbook, a New Testament bible and an Isaiah in manuscript. The manuscript was of particular interest, since it was not mentioned in Hesseling (1905). Romig was mentioned separately in De Josselin de Jong (1926:8): he considered him not only a capable adviser, but also a loyal friend.

Unfortunately, the diary does not tell us what happened on De Josselin de Jong and the Prince brothers’ first appointment on February 7th. On the 9th however, De

⁸ This is an interesting remark of De Josselin de Jong which proves he took not only Hesseling (1905), but also Schuchardt (1914) to the US Virgin Islands.

Josselin de Jong mentioned his appointment. From the text we can assume the earlier appointment took place. It says:

‘From Prince I got some text again, but no folklore. However, he had sent another elderly man to us who said he would be able to narrate in the language. It turned out though that Prince had sent him to work (dig) for us, but I decided to investigate his Dutch Creole. At 1 p.m., he appeared again and until 5 p.m. I worked with him. He has [the advantage] over Prince that he is not able to read or write and that he is willing and able to narrate. It promises to be that interesting that I will give all of my time to this, which is easy, since the excavations give us little to do.’⁹

From this information, we know that De Josselin de Jong had worked with only one of the Prince brothers, who is also mentioned in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7).

On February 10th, De Josselin de Jong worked from 8 to 12 am and from 1 to 4 pm with the old man. He wrote that his informant knew the language well, although he had forgotten some words. Sometimes he remembered those again during the narration. As we do not know much about the contents of the stories yet, the following comments of De Josselin de Jong draw our attention. He stated that the stories were not worth much from an anthropological point of view, even when he was unable to read or write. He supposed these people had been in contact with ‘civilization’ too long. The following example is clear: “As an ‘old-time story’, which he did not have from a book (another one had previously been read to him) he told me the Town Musicians of Bremen.”¹⁰ (See also De Josselin de Jong 1926: 5.)

On Monday February 12th, we learn the name of the third informant: William Anthony Joshua¹¹. Again, he worked with him from 8 to 12 a.m. On this day, the number of informants increased: Joshua announced that he would bring along two other informants the next day; in the afternoon Emil Francis, an elderly person from Smiths Bay, East End visited De Josselin de Jong. Reverend Romig sent him because he also knew Dutch Creole well. He could have also met an old Creole

⁹ ‘Van Prince kreeg ik weer wat tekst, maar geen folklore. Hij had echter ’S morgens een anderen bejaarden man naar ons toegezonden die verklaarde in de taal te kunnen vertellen. Prince’s bedoeling [-*....*] <ol.bleek> weliswaar dat hij voor ons zou werken (graven), maar ik besloot in ieder geval den man op negerholl. te onderzoeken. Om 1 uur verscheen hij weer en tot 5 uur heb ik met hem gewerkt. Hij heeft boven Prince van dat hij niet kan lezen of schrijven en dat hij wil en kan vertellen. Het belooft zoo interessant te worden, dat ik voorloopig al mijn tijd haar zal geven, wat te gemakkelijker kan daar de opgravingen zoo weinig te doen geven.’

¹⁰ See chapter 13. It was this story (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 16, VI) which was read in English by Sprauve to Mrs. Stevens to be translated into Dutch Creole on tape (Sprauve 1985). Since we had both De Josselin de Jong’s and Mrs. Stevens’ versions of the story, diachronical study was possible. Although intensively used in classes and lectures from 1996 onwards, for instance Van Rossem (2013d), this comparison was only published concisely in Van Rossem (2013a).

¹¹ The diary only mentions his last name, but his given names were published in De Josselin de Jong (1926).

speaking woman, but since Francis came all the way from East End, De Josselin de Jong had to postpone this appointment to the next day.

Emil Francis was all dressed up for the meeting. He wore a black coat, a white pique shirt, stiff double boarded, without a tie, and white and blue-striped trousers. He also wore a panama hat with a wide brim. Fieldwork with him turned out to be problematic. De Josselin de Jong wrote that although Francis spoke the language well and really had an interest in it, he had nothing to tell us.¹²

This explains why De Josselin de Jong 1926 contains only one short story from Emil Francis: De Josselin de Jong thought that it would have been possible to get him going after two or three interviews, but he lived too far away, in East End, to make that possible.¹³

De Josselin de Jong mentioned the advantage of his growing number of informants; however, he noticed that there were hardly any individual differences in pronunciation. Joshua the best informant up until this moment, even though his English was almost incomprehensible.

The next day, February 13th, started with a Creole session with Joshua from 8 to 10 a.m. From 10 to 12 a.m. De Josselin de Jong interviewed the 79-year-old woman,¹⁴ however, she could not or would not tell him anything. She spoke softly and hardly understood De Josselin de Jong when he asked for further explanation:

‘Joshua is truly much better. He is not ashamed to tell stories and knows very well what it is all about. He told me today, and in all probability he is correct, that the old creole stories have become extinct, because the clerics forbid them to tell these to their children.’^{15 16}

From De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7) we know that he gathered 17 stories on St. Thomas and, from metalinguistic comments, we learn why only one story was from Emil Francis and why Joshua was his most important informant. On Friday February

¹² It is important to note here that the focus of De Josselin de Jong’s fieldwork seems to be the collection of folk tales and other stories and not on systematic research on the language itself. In several places the informants are judged by their competence in telling stories. (Robbert van Sluijs, p.c. October 3, 2016)

¹³ Emil Francis only contributed one story, XVII (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 25-26), about the St. Thomas rage of both a hurricane and an earthquake in 1871. De Josselin de Jong did not translate this story. See Van Rossem (2014, January 23). Hesseling (1933: 281) presents this story as one of two examples to illustrate difficulty of homonyms and adds a Dutch translation.

¹⁴ De Josselin de Jong (1926: 8) mentions two women from St. Thomas: Aristeia Benedetti, born in 1850, and Helena Mitchell, born in 1844, who were of help for the vocabulary. Because of the age mentioned, Helena Mitchell must have been the woman he refers to here. Aristeia Benedetti does not appear in the diary.

¹⁵ Two informants, Joshua and Testamark, mention this reason for the disappearance of Dutch Creole stories. De Josselin de Jong refers to it in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 5).

¹⁶ ‘Joshua is werkelijk veel beter. Hij geneert zich niet om verhalen te doen en begrijpt heel goed waar ’t om gaat. Hij vertelde me vandaag – en hoogstwaarschijnlijk heeft hij gelijk – dat de oude negerverhalen uitgestorven waren omdat de geestelijken verboden ze de kinderen te vertellen.’

16th, we see again an intensive day of fieldwork: ‘worked the entire day with Joshua on Dutch Creole’. The following days, however, are filled with preparations to leave St. Thomas for St. John. On Tuesday February 20th, he paid a farewell visit to ‘the old Prince, to whom I gave 2 dollars for his education in Dutch Creole’. The next day De Josselin de Jong left for St. John. St. John had already been mentioned by Thiele as the place where there were more speakers of the language than on St. Thomas and in the end, De Josselin de Jong consulted six informants on this island.

After a week on St. John, De Josselin de Jong mentioned Dutch Creole again. It becomes clear that he had already started to do fieldwork:

‘(...) I stayed at home to record some Dutch Creole. The old man who was recommended by Penn¹⁷, appeared to know the language well; however, he forgot many of the old stories. He will now refresh his memories with someone else who knows the stories, but does not know the language, and will tell me everything next week.’^{18 19} (Saturday March 3th 1923)

The report of Monday March 5th shows that he already had more informants than on St. Thomas:

‘(...) I have done Dutch Creole with Testemark this morning.²⁰ Then he had nothing more to tell me. In the afternoon, on the advice of Mrs. Penn, I have tried it with another old black man: Robert George, however he did not tell me much. Just like Joshua on St. Thomas, he told me that earlier the missionaries had forbidden telling these stories to the children, which is why nobody knows many of them. Tomorrow I will try my luck with an old woman. Mrs. Hatt worked with her at an excavation.’²¹

The appointment on March 6th was not entirely successful. Mrs. Anna Testamark, who was 82 years old, was according to De Josselin de Jong: “an entertaining oldie, who of course speaks Dutch Creole fluently and is probably full of folklore”. However, he could not get to start telling stories. She told De Josselin de Jong that a 65-year old friend of her would be able to tell him all manner of stories. After he had

¹⁷ Reverend of Moravian Brethren on St. John.

¹⁸ This is one of the examples that indicates that De Josselin de Jong’s priority was to collect stories rather than bare language samples.

¹⁹ ‘Daar wij dit verwachtten ben ik thuis gebleven om wat negerhollandsch op te nemen. De oude man dien pen me daarvoor had aanbevolen bleek de taal goed te kennen maar van de oude verhalen veel vergeten te zijn. Hij zal nu bij een ander die wel de verhalen maar niet de taal kent zijn geheugen gaan opfrissen en me dan de volgende week alles vertellen.’

²⁰ It is unclear to me whether the old man who was recommended to De Josselin de Jong by Rev. Penn first is actually the Testemark who is mentioned here.

²¹ ‘(...) Ik heb ’s morgens met Testemark [-*.*] negerhollandsch gedaan. Toen wist hij niets meer te vertellen. ’S middags heb ik op raad v. Mrs. Penn ’t met een andere ouden neger geprobeerd: Robert George, maar ook die wist me niet veel te vertellen. Evenals Joshua op St. Thomas vertelde hij me dat de zendelingen vroeger verboden hadden die verhalen aan de kinderen te vertellen, vandaar dat nu niemand er veel kent. Morgen ga ik mijn geluk bij een oude vrouw beproeven. Mevr. Hatt heeft aan haar opgraving gewerkt.’

traced this man, Ludwig Joseph, he made an appointment for the same day at 1 p.m. Ludwig Joseph came and was willing to tell De Josselin de Jong what he knew, however he did not know the stories. His plan to help De Josselin de Jong was that he would try to ask Anna Testamark to come the next day to tell the stories for 1 dollar a day.

She appeared the next day, but was not able to tell them anything. De Josselin de Jong thought she was weak-headed and bought a stone from her, perhaps even an ordinary flint, for half a dollar in order to get her in a good mood, however it did not work. He sent her away and went to Roofers Daniel whose mother, according to Anna Testamark, knew many of the old stories. Roofers confirmed this and so De Josselin de Jong had to meet her. She lived on Mary's Point.

On the request of De Josselin de Jong, Ludwig Joseph appeared again in the afternoon. He only presented De Josselin de Jong with some texts and De Josselin de Jong mainly recorded vocabulary. Again, Ludwig Joseph appeared to be willing to help to find informants. He suggested trying Albert Christian who lived in Palestina, near Emmaus. At 5 p.m., De Josselin de Jong visited Christian who told him he indeed could tell him something. The next morning at 8 they would meet.

Thursday March 8th was again an important day for De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork. In the morning, he worked until 11 a.m. with Albert Christian who dictated all the stories he could make up. De Josselin de Jong found that his Dutch Creole was not always correct and, as he did not have a full mastery of the language, his way of telling stories was also clumsy. At 11 a.m., they both went to Edwin Testamark, who lived nearby, to record something he remembered. Edwin would let them know when he remembered more stories.²² At 1 p.m., De Josselin de Jong left to meet Henry Roberts, who would eventually prove to be the most productive of all of the informants. Roberts lived in Bordeaux, near Coral Bay. George Testamark, who was also mentioned by Christian as someone who could contribute something, lived at the top of the hill. Unfortunately, he could not help. He was weaving baskets and seemed, as his wife also said, to be somnolently dull. She knew Creole only moderately well and said that she did not know old stories. When she left to get Roberts, De Josselin de Jong spoke to her mother in Dutch Creole.

The conversation became quite lively. He wrote that when Roberts arrived, the news of his appearance was apparently known by his neighbors and it did not take long before a large group of people of both sexes and various ages came to sit around them. Roberts and an old woman started to tell one of the old 'jokes' with a lot of singing and which ended in a phallic dance, to enormous hilarity of the audience.²³ De Josselin de Jong made an appointment to work with Roberts the next day. It became too noisy to write anything down and some old women in the audience were rather cumbersome: they begged for money and made a lot of noise. The young men in the audience appeared to be shy and embarrassed, while a young girl was enjoying it very much. It was an extraordinary experience, as De Josselin de Jong wrote down.

From March 9th on, De Josselin de Jong interviewed Roberts quite frequently during the following days and weeks sometimes even interviewing him for entire

²² See note 15.

²³ De Josselin de Jong (1926: 6) refers to this situation.

days. Only the Sundays were kept free for resting. De Josselin de Jong considered him to be a rich source of folklore, but he wrote that interviewing him was tiring, since he was not such a great storyteller and not very good at explaining. On March 13th, Roberts told De Josselin de Jong that he did not know any more and that he had to plant his crops. During the following days Mr. and Mrs. Hatt left for Cruz Bay to go to St. Thomas. The excavations on St. John had finished and De Josselin de Jong started packing the material and cleaning his house.

On Saturday March 14th, we find the next reference to the Creole texts. De Josselin de Jong was studying his texts and he thought some passages, for instance those related to for instance about medical plants, needed further explanation. Luckily, Roberts sent his daughter to announce that he would be paying a visit on the following Monday, and on his way to swimming in the bay, he met Ludwig, who said he would visit him the following Tuesday. That Sunday, De Josselin de Jong also studied the texts that he already collected.

For all of Monday March 19th, De Josselin de Jong worked with Roberts again. He thought that Roberts made some stories up himself; however, these seemed to be interesting because of the vocabulary used. De Josselin de Jong told him that he had enough of these stories. Roberts did not have anything else, but promised to come back the next day when he remembered something else. Neither Roberts nor Joseph appeared on Tuesday March 20th and therefore De Josselin de Jong used the entire day to study the texts that he had, as he had done on the 21st. He decided to return to St. Thomas on the following Friday, which definitively put a stop to his fieldwork on the US Virgin Islands. March 22nd became the final day of fieldwork:

‘This morning I worked with Roberts. He brought me some spiders, among others Anānši; he could not find Tekoma. At 11 o clock, I had asked him all that I had to ask, without too much success, since he is actually not capable of explaining anything. Testamark and Joseph are much more intelligent. So this day was not a success for my work. It is high time that I leave.’²⁴

Unfortunately, De Josselin de Jong could not get the boat, and had to wait for some days for the next opportunity. He used the time to pack his things. On Saturday 24th, he visited reverend Romig, who immediately allowed him to copy the Isaiah manuscript of the Moravian mission. Romig even allowed De Josselin de Jong to take it to his room or to copy it at his home. In the diary, we find some references to his copying the manuscript: on the 27th De Josselin de Jong wrote that he thinks that he will not finish his copy before leaving, however he is allowed to take the manuscript with him in that case.²⁵ On the 28th, he was at Romig’s for the entire day in order to copy the manuscript and on the 29th he spent the morning working on his

²⁴ ‘ ’s Morgens heb ik met Roberts gewerkt. Hij bracht eenige spinnen voor me mee o.a. Anānši; Tekoma had hij niet kunnen vinden. Om 11 uur had ik hem alles gevraagd wat ik hem nog te vragen had, met niet heel veel succes evenwel daar hij feitelijk niet in staat is iets uit te leggen. Testamark en Joseph zijn veel intelligenter. Zoo [-*....*]<ol.is> deze dag voor mijn werk geen succes geweest. Het is hoog tijd dat ik wegga.’

²⁵ See also Effert (1992: 39) who also refers to a letter De Josselin de Jong sent to Hatt, April 2nd 1923.

copy. He also spent the first days of April (1st and 3rd) copying the manuscript, however he also tried to meet Thiele to see his copy of a Dutch Creole book, which worked out on the 4th. It did not belong to Thiele and De Josselin de Jong was a little disappointed that he could not have it.

On April 6th 1923, De Josselin de Jong left the islands. His archaeological work took up a lot of his time (see Effert 1992: chapter 6), but in the meanwhile he also prepared two publications about Dutch Creole. The first one, the booklet/paper *Het Negerhollandsch van St. Thomas and St. Jan* was published in 1924 (De Josselin de Jong 1924).²⁶ De Josselin de Jong considered his fieldwork as the last opportunity to record the language. In 1926, *Het huidige Negerhollandsch* appeared (De Josselin de Jong 1926).²⁷ It is indeed considered to be a monument of spoken Dutch Creole, as is Hesseling's 1905 work on the written variety and early history. Nelson luckily recorded spoken Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in 1936 (see chapter 13 and 14). It was more than thirty years later, in the 1970s and 1980s, that the last remaining speakers who were willing to contribute to the study of this language were found.

15.4 Implications for study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole

It is of course interesting to see which activities De Josselin de Jong undertook to study Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. However, I want to put these in the perspective of linguistics. What does this diary teach us about the study of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and what does it add to what we already know from regularly studied sources like De Josselin de Jong (1926)?

In the first place, we read that his hosts were aware of the use of Dutch Creole on St. Thomas and St. John. Mrs. Holst, Mr. Thiele, Bishop Greider and the reverends Romig and Penn not only knew of the language, they were even able to give extra information about it, providing addresses and getting informants for him. The role of Mrs. Holst and Mrs. Penn is also interesting since they showed an extra interest in the fieldwork and unexpectedly helped with making the initial contact. Mr. Thiele, of whom I do not have any biographical information, is the one who drew De Josselin de Jong's attention to St. John as the island where Dutch Creole was spoken more often than on St. Thomas. It would be interesting to see whether their metalinguistic comments about Dutch Creole are also present in letters or other ego-documents.²⁸

With regard to available written material, the Isaiah manuscript that is mentioned, which is preserved by the Moravian Brethren, is of interest. It seems to be the only missionary manuscript that is kept on the US Virgin Islands. All of the other texts that are mentioned previously in any other texts are preserved in the archives of Herrnhut (Germany) or Bethlehem. Pa. (USA). In his letter of June 15th

²⁶ It is a miracle that I found the printer's proof in 1992 in a bookshop in the same street as the Institute of General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam where I worked at the time.

²⁷ In 1925 the extensive edition of texts, translations and vocabulary was ready, however it was awaiting publication (Effert 1992: 55).

²⁸ The term *ego-document* was introduced in the Netherlands in the 1950s for 'personal testimony' and is widely used among Dutch researchers, even in English texts. See for instance the subtitle of Van der Wal & Rutten (2013): *Studies in the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents*.

1773, Johann Böhner writes that he already translated this manuscript, so I presume that the text that De Josselin de Jong copied is Böhner's translation. I do not know whether the Isaiah manuscript is still in St. Thomas. We also do not know anything about De Josselin de Jong's copy. It is not included in De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork material in the University Library in Leyden. There is a possibility that it was shipped to Copenhagen along with the archaeological material, however nothing about this can be found in the diary.

In De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7), three informants from St. Thomas and six from St. John are mentioned as having contributed texts. De Josselin de Jong (1926: 8) mentions another two women who helped to improve the vocabulary list. Information from the diary adds some background information about these people and the way in which these texts were delivered.

The informants from St. Thomas are not mentioned in chronological order. William Anthony Joshua told the first thirteen stories. He was from Nisky and was born in 1858. Even though there are much older informants, De Josselin de Jong calls him 'the old Joshua'. De Josselin de Jong considered him a good informant, because he could read and write, but knew how to tell stories. De Josselin de Jong worked for about 25 hours with him, according to the diary, from February 9th until February 16th 1923. His incomprehensible use of English was problematic. Did this perhaps influence the texts or De Josselin de Jong's translations? Differences between Joshua and other informants could, therefore, be due not only to dialectal differences, but also to problems in interpreting the use of English. Joshua was about to take two other informants, however nothing in the diary, nor in De Josselin de Jong (1926) refers to these two people.

Of the two Prince brothers from Mosquito Bay, only one worked as an informant. He was from Nisky and his age is unknown. Both brothers were also called 'old'. Between February 7th and 9th Prince only contributed with three texts, however his role was important since he introduced Joshua to De Josselin de Jong. He was able to read and write. Prince was paid 2 dollars for his contribution. Since he told De Josselin de Jong he could only work for two hours a day, it is probable that they worked together for about six hours.

Emil Francis (born 1854) from Smiths Bay, East End, St. Thomas, seemed a promising informant, he knew the language well and was willing to contribute, however the first meeting, on February 12th, was somewhat disappointing. He lived too far from De Josselin de Jong for there to be a possibility of there being any stimulating follow up interviews. In the only meeting, of which we do not know the length, he only contributed one text. On St. John, De Josselin de Jong visited a Francis family; however, nothing is noted related to the Creole language. Three of Nelson's eight informants have Francis as their last name, which may indicate the conservation of the language within the family. It is however not known to me whether these were all related to one another. Smiths Bay/East End was also the place where several of Nelson's informants came from.

On February 13th 1923, De Josselin de Jong had a conversation of about two hours with a 79-year old woman. This must have been Helena Mitchell (born 1844), who is mentioned in De Josselin de Jong (1926:8). She spoke softly and was only of help for the vocabulary. Aristea Benedetti, St. Thomas, born 1850, who is also mentioned in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 8), is not mentioned in the diary.

The informants from St. John contributed many more stories. They are mentioned in De Josselin de Jong (1926) in chronological order. The one who is initially called *Testemark* must be John Abraham Testamark, St. John, born 1859. It is somewhat unclear however, since both Edwin Testamark (about 8 hours of fieldwork on March 5th and 8th) and George Testamark (short consult on March 8th) are mentioned in the diary, but their names do not resemble John Abraham. He contributed five texts. Robbert van Sluijs (p.c. October 3, 2016) notes that texts XXIII-XXVII are not attributed to anyone (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 7). Since his research shows stylistic differences between these texts and the ones by J.A. Testamark, he supposes it is very possible that other informants presented these texts. It is likely that Edwin Testamark, because of the eight hours of fieldwork, and to a lesser extent George Testamark, contributed texts XIII-XXVII. Since all three informants share the family name, and since De Josselin de Jong does not mention the numbers of these texts (1926: 7), this contribution may have been overlooked during proofreading.

Robert George (born 1845) only contributed two texts on March 5th. Both he and Joshua told De Josselin de Jong the story in which missionaries forbid storytelling to the children. Anna Catherina Testamark (born 1841) also contributed only two texts, although she had two appointments with De Josselin de Jong on March 6th and 7th. De Josselin de Jong thought that her knowledge of Creole was promising, but that she was too hard to interview. She seemed weak-headed.

The next informant who is mentioned is Ludwig Joseph (born 1858) who worked with De Josselin de Jong only on the afternoons of March 6th and 7th. In these hours, he presented twelve texts. De Josselin de Jong remarked that he did not know any stories and indeed, these stories are very short.²⁹ De Josselin de Jong considered him and Testamark to be much more intelligent than Henry Roberts. I wonder if this can be checked by comparing the stories they contributed.

The next informant is Albert Christian (born 1850) from Palestina, near Emmaus on St. John. It is unclear from the diary how De Josselin de Jong came into contact with him. De Josselin de Jong did not consider his language to be very proficient and found his narration clumsy. The seven texts he contributed on March 7th and 8th should therefore be looked upon with a critical eye. However, Robbert van Sluijs (p.c. October 3, 2016) does not consider that these texts differ from the contributions of other informants.

The most productive informant during De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork was William Henry Roberts who is listed in the diary as having been born 1863, living in Bordeaux. During about 43 hours between March 8th and 22nd, he not only presented 53 stories, but also introduced De Josselin de Jong into a meeting where the Creole language was spoken. He is not portrayed as intelligent or proficient in storytelling; however, he knew a lot of folklore. He surprises us with his creativity when he takes spiders with him on his last meeting. De Josselin de Jong 1926 does not mention the mother of Roofers Daniel, who lived in Mary's Point and was supposed to speak Creole, probably because he did not have the opportunity to meet with her. We

²⁹ Texts XXXIII-XXXVII consist of 38 lines (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 32-34) and texts LXXXIII-LXXXVIII consist of 13 lines, among which are one liners (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 62-63).

know that George Testamark's wife and her mother did speak Dutch Creole, however nothing is explicitly attributed to them. The same holds for the neighbors and the old woman who joined Roberts telling jokes on March 8th.

De Josselin de Jong's list of informants from St. John (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 7) seems to be in chronological order. Since he wrote in his diary that he supposes Robert's last stories to be of lesser quality, researchers should keep this in mind when studying these texts.

No Creole words or sentences are used in the entire diary. Further research should include a search for the Dutch Creole notes that De Josselin de Jong made. A comparison of Nelson's word lists and the remaining page of his notebook give interesting information. The proof of De Josselin de Jong (1924) only shows some corrections of phonetics, however a study of De Josselin de Jong's fieldwork manuscripts could even be more interesting because of his critical view on the informants and the editing, completing and filling in of gaps, which he might have done in his spare time.

16. Twentieth century field notes in the context of audience design

In the mid-nineteenth century, English and English Creole replaced Virgin Islands Dutch Creole on the Virgin Islands; surprisingly, however, speakers of the language could be found until much later. The two most important early twentieth century works in this respect, De Josselin de Jong's dictionary and folk tales and Nelson's wordlists, were analyzed in chapters 13, 14 and 15. I have argued that not only are the language samples gathered of interest in their own right, but that study from a perspective of audience design and the wider context of data gathering also indicates that these early twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sources should be scrutinized carefully before accepting them as faithful representations of the vernacular at the time. De Josselin de Jong's diary and Nelson's correspondence show that, despite their scholarly approach to the language and its speakers, their fieldwork from the 1920s and 1930s differs from the way in which more contemporary researchers such as Sprauve and Sabino gathered data from the 1960s until the 1980s.

16.1 Introduction

Not everyone engaged in linguistic research is tempted to search historical sources just to gather information about linguists and their fieldwork. In this dissertation, I have tried to focus on the use of this information to understand audience design in the various written attestations of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole better. See for instance chapter 5, in which I have shown how metalinguistic information can be of use for linguistic research.

The fields of historical sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics show that metalinguistic information can be of great importance in studying the change of language and the influence of speakers and other participants in the communication situation. The use of the Audience Design Model arranges the information in such a way that trying to understand whether texts are 'authentic' becomes much easier, since authenticity is a contextual notion. In part III of this dissertation, I presented philological studies highlighting the various roles of the participants in the speech community. In this part, I am confronted with visitors, researchers who are not part of the speech community and may therefore, not seem to have influenced the language material that they have gathered. However, the role of these fieldworkers is also influential in determining their results: they search for informants and evaluate their language competence, determine the language samples to be collected, are dominant in the conversations and determine the length and the number of these conversations. They are the ones who determine which material should be included in the final publication or their field notes.

The study of twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole began when Hesseling (1905) reflected on contemporary spoken Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and used Van Name's (1871) and Pontoppidan's (1881, 1887) information. However, he also contacted Reverend E.C. Greider of the Moravian Mission, who sent him a letter, dated January 31, 1904. He indicated that only very few older people, living in the country districts, spoke the Creole language. Alongside that, he mentioned a

mixed dialect that was called Creole, but contained many English words. Urban Afro-Caribbeans spoke English. Those who still wanted to study Virgin Islands Dutch Creole should do so immediately (Hesseling 1905: 33-34). Luckily Greider also presented four sentences of ‘bastard Creole’ used by those of the younger generation who were not entirely anglicized, which revealed that there was still some Dutch Creole spoken even among younger people. When Hesseling transliterated the sentences from English into Dutch orthography these looked much more like the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole from earlier publications.

Although he presented a small collection of utterances of ‘genuine’ spoken Creole, Hesseling never went into the field to actually collect spoken data. In the twentieth century, however, several fieldworkers did record information from the last speakers.

The examples of both Nelson’s and De Josselin de Jong’s fieldwork show that the perspective of these researchers is of importance in understanding their material better. For diachronic studies, in which their examples of early twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole fill a gap between the missionary texts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and the spoken material collected by modern linguists like Sabino and Sprauve, this closer, philological examination is necessary.

Important field workers of the Virgin Islands still active at the time of writing, Gilbert Sprauve and Robin Sabino, had the ability to record the language material and to make samples of their recordings available (Sprauve 1985, Sabino 2012: audio files that accompany p. 233-292). They are both interested in not only gathering interesting cultural information, but also in conserving all aspects of the language itself. The early twentieth century field workers, De Josselin de Jong and Nelson, had another perspective and other recording tools.

16.2 Nelson and audience design

When we use the audience design perspective in relation to Nelson, we see the following. Frank G. Nelson was a young and well-trained linguist when he visited St. Thomas and St. Croix. Although his notes are of considerable interest, they are not a systematical description of the last remnants of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. His purpose in visiting these islands was not to do field work on the Creole, so he did not prepare himself for that. His linguistic interest in the US Virgin Islands was focused on the use of Danish.

He calls his work amateurish and since he was not trained as a linguistic fieldworker or in oral transcription, he had to improvise. For instance, he had to fall back on his knowledge of transcribing Anglo-Saxon. It is important to note that he intended his notes to be for his own personal use. He used a notebook and did not have the possibility of using a typewriter. When he became aware of John Reinecke being interested in Creole in 1936, he had already left St. Thomas. It was Reinecke who eventually made a typed excerpt from Nelson’s field notes for *Marginal Languages* (Reinecke 1937).

Nelson’s search for informants was not systematic either. When searching for information about the use of Danish, an elderly man told him that none of the descendants of enslaved Africans had ever spoken it except for a few house servants. More or less by accident, this man introduced Virgin Islands Dutch Creole: in his boyhood, before the turn of the century, a number of very old people still spoke

what he called ‘Creole’ – by now, he thought, extinct. Nelson did not know anything about this language before this.

We do not know exactly how Nelson found his informants, but it also does not appear to have been a systematic search. He writes: ‘I managed to find a few quite old people on St. Thomas and St. Croix (I didn’t visit St. John) who said they remembered a little so I jotted down what I could get out of them.’ The information is however interesting and his memory is quite sharp when he shows he can still add details even after sixty years in his correspondence with Hans den Besten.

Nelson does not reveal much about the linguistic background of the addressees; however, we know their names, ages and addresses. Van Sluijs (2017:59-61) shows in his analysis of the US Virgin Islands information from the United States Federal Census that the provenance of Nelson’s informants can be determined much more precisely. For instance, Henrietta Anton lived on St. Croix, but was from St. Thomas, with parents from St. John and St. Thomas, and Isabela Sylvester lived on St. Thomas; however, she was originally from St. John, just like her parents.

We also have no information about the actual situations in which the informants were interviewed however as Nelson does mention their addresses, it might be possible that he met them at their own houses.

Metalinguistic comments about the language are quite scarce in his notes. These do appear in his letters and even in one of the texts, although not explicitly. For instance, Nelson mentions a ‘rather prim old lady said that she had once known a number of songs in Creole but she wouldn’t sing them for me because she was now a good Christian’.¹ Two of De Josselin de Jong’s informants also mentioned this. The nineteenth and twentieth century missionaries appear to have had a negative influence on the use of Creole and the conservation of Creole stories. Whether this is in contrast with the eighteenth century situation is unclear to me. All eighteenth century material points towards the use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole; however, authentic secular texts are only preserved in proverbs. It is interesting that De Josselin de Jong’s informants referred to missionaries forbidding them to tell the Creole stories, while Nelson’s informant actually avoids telling these stories. In the Audience Design Model, for the fieldwork setting, the informants are the actual speakers and their addressees are De Josselin de Jong and Nelson. De Josselin de Jong’s informants were aware of the influence of the mission, but this had only influenced their knowledge of stories. Nelson’s informant however, remained aware of her Christian background and restricted herself because of absent, but influential participants in the communication situation, which reminds of referee design, in which ministers function as a referee.

Information about a broader audience, including auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers, is absent in Nelson’s wordlists and correspondence. Since the Nelson list contains metalinguistic information about the contributors, further study about these, including comparison of items and dialectal/geographical differences, is possible.

Although we were not present when the interview took place and we cannot be sure about the actual situation, some metalinguistic elements are of interest. The first elements that are presented by Henrietta Francis are:

¹ Henrietta Francis, see chapter 13.4.

Come into the house.	–	<i>kom</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>bene</i>
		come	NA	inside
How are you?	–	<i>Hoso</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>be?</i>
		how	2SG	are
Well, thank you.	–	<i>Frai</i>	<i>danki</i>	
		good	thanks	

It is easy to see the moment of their first contact. Henrietta Anton, however, made the smallest contribution to Nelson's lists. It seems clear she wanted to wind up the interview:

I tell you enough this afternoon.	–	<i>Mi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>s[e+]<ē></i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>gono</i>
		1SG	PRF	say	2SG	enough
		<i>Fanda</i>	<i>asta</i>	<i>menda.</i> ²		
		today	after	noon		
You can write your book out of it.	–	<i>Yo</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>skrif</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>bok</i>
		2SG	can	write	2SG	book
		<i>f[-ra]</i>	<i><ol.fan></i>	<i>di.</i>		<i>ut</i>
		of		this		

It would not surprise me if Nelson's original wordlist, which seems to be written in a chronological, thematic order, contained more of these examples. De Josselin de Jong's wordlists are alphabetical, and can therefore not be studied like Nelson's.

The philological approach, the edition of the wordlists in a diplomatic way and the metalinguistic information, presented us with the following advantages: Nelson's orthographical representation of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole words can be explained from his experience with Anglo-Saxon. He indicates which sounds he could note well and which were problematic. The most interesting outcome of this procedure with regard to orthography is the alleged difference between two types of <e>, which appeared to be of no linguistic interest. Without the study of metalinguistic comments, which could add context to explain the bare field notes or linguistic texts, another, wrong, explanation for his use of tokens could easily be given. The preserved letters and e-mails of Den Besten and Sabino appeared to be of use in understanding all of items in Nelson's lists. The fact that these e-mails were printed and not erased, even ten years after this digital correspondence took place, is extremely fortunate.

As can be seen in chapter 14, Nelson does not respond extensively to the questions and remarks of Den Besten. It would, of course have been hard to remember certain sounds around sixty years after his fieldwork, and the focus of his work was on collecting words and short examples with his main interest appearing to be the etymology of Creole words. The discussion about vowels and consonants as recorded in the e-mail conversation between Den Besten and Sabino was

² This should actually be translated as 'I have told you enough this afternoon', in perfect rather than present tense, which I interpret as 'I want to stop this interview.'

therefore perhaps not out of the scope of his work, but possibly not Nelson's main interest.

16.3 De Josselin de Jong and audience design

De Josselin de Jong, who is nowadays mostly known for his work in anthropology, was a skilled fieldworker, influenced by C.C. Uhlenbeck (Effert 1992: 1-9). During his first expedition, with Uhlenbeck, in 1910 among the Ojibwe Indians, his work already consisted of collecting a combination of linguistic and cultural data, and ethnological material.³ Like Uhlenbeck, De Josselin de Jong seems to have believed in linguistics as part of the study of history of languages (Effert 1992: 2). He regarded language as being the key to study culture: 'So long as one does not know the language, one is working, so to say, in the dark' (Effert 1992: 2).

His 1926 linguistic material consists of stories and songs, which is reminiscent of the early twentieth century tradition of displaying texts and wordlists, without thorough grammatical analysis, as in a museum. However, which audience did De Josselin de Jong have in mind while preparing his 1926 edition?

In the first place, the edition was published by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, in which several other linguistic topics were represented, like Schuchardt's 1914 study of Saramaccan. The audience of these publications was scholarly: De Josselin de Jong used a more or less phonetic orthography, in which, for instance, the length of vowels is indicated. This spelling appears to reflect the authenticity of the language used in the collected stories, however, from remarks in the diary we know that informants were not always as good at Virgin Islands Dutch Creole as at remembering and telling Creole stories.

Although the 1926 publication is in Dutch, the excerpts, which accompany the stories (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 108-123), are in English, which may be indicators of an international audience or of translations that were prepared during fieldwork with the Creole informants, who were all English and not Dutch speaking. I have not studied these excerpts; however, a glimpse at them suggests that these were hardly meant to present more information than their basic contents. In addition, only texts I until LXXXI have an excerpt. Not all of the texts have a cultural/anthropological focus. Text CIII presents some numerals, however not from a systematic, linguistic point of view.

Although the information is scarce, some information is helpful for future linguistic research. Of the following texts, De Josselin de Jong indicates that the contents are similar or the same, however presented by different informants, of different ages:⁴

³ In 1912-1915 De Josselin de Jong published several articles about dances, songs and texts as studied during his fieldwork among Ojibwe, Blackfoot, Indians. See Effert (1992: 94) for full references.

⁴ One small text appears in both De Josselin de Jong's and in Nelson's material: the nursery rhyme of 'Three blind mice'. De Josselin de Jong (1926: 63) has text LXXXVIII by William Roberts, St John, and Nelson has two versions (see chapter 14.2, l. 445 – 452 and chapter 14.3, l. 563-582, by Henrietta Francis, St. Croix).

- XXIII (Edwin or, to lesser extent, George Testamark,⁵ St. John) – LXII (William Roberts, St. John)
- XXXIII (Ludwig Joseph, St. John) – XXXX (Albert Christian, St. John) – LCVII (William Roberts, St. John)
- XXXX (Albert Christian, St. John) – XXXXVII (William Roberts, St. John, other actor in story)
- XXXXI (Albert Christian, St. John) – LXVII (William Roberts, St. John)
- XXXXII (Albert Christian, St. John) – XXXXV (William Roberts, St. John)
- XXXXIV (Albert Christian, St. John) – LXVI (William Roberts, St. John)

De Josselin de Jong's remark that texts L and LXIX are the same but from different narrators, is problematic. According to his introduction, both stories are by William Roberts. Unfortunately, there are no texts for which a St. Thomas variant can be compared to a variant from St. John.

In two places, De Josselin de Jong presents a glimpse into his fieldwork practices. In the excerpt of text LXXIV (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 122), he writes, about William Roberts: 'A product of the narrator's personal fantasy, which he keenly enjoyed himself.' The following excerpt, LXXV, contains the following remark by De Josselin de Jong: 'A tale of the same type as the previous one: interesting, not only from a psychological point of view, but also on account of the rather detailed description in the vernacular of the sugar-making process.' The latter is again an obvious example of the anthropological view displaying an important craft in St. John.

The vocabulary (De Josselin de Jong 1926: 69-107) is in Dutch and not only relies on the information of his informants whom he mentioned as having contributed to this list, but also on Hesseling's copy of the Moravian Grammar (*Grammatik* 1903), Hesseling (1905), De Josselin de Jong (1924), Knox (1852), Mogens (1770), Oldendorp (1777), and Schuchardt (1914). De Josselin de Jong not only introduces new words, or adds different forms and meanings; he even uses an illustration to explain the word *kapmes*.

The use of the Moravian Grammar, which is mentioned in De Josselin de Jong (1926: 69), is remarkable for two reasons. First, it shows that De Josselin de Jong was close enough to Hesseling to use his material,⁶ which is emphasized by the dedication to Hesseling in De Josselin de Jong (1926). Second, it is strange that this work was used for this publication. The Moravian Grammar, see chapter 5 and 9, is the most complete contemporary grammar of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, however at first sight, nothing from it can be recognized in the vocabulary or in the texts and excerpts.

⁵ See chapter 15.3 and 15.4.

⁶ After his decease in 1941, Hesseling's copy of the Moravian Grammar was donated to the Leyden University Library by his widow.

Unlike Nelson, De Josselin de Jong did prepare himself for fieldwork by studying Hesseling (1905). As a result, he knew at least some people to approach, one of whom, bishop Greider, was already mentioned in Hesseling (1905: 32-34).

De Josselin de Jong organized appointments to interview his informants in a structured way. He is clear about the usefulness of his informants, although his focus appears to be not on the Creole language itself, but on folklore. He judged his informants mainly on their competence in telling stories, rather than on language competence. Nevertheless, he also mentions informants who were only of help to complete the vocabulary, which was eventually published in De Josselin de Jong (1926).

De Josselin de Jong took his time to work out his notes. Except for his diary, we do not yet have his field notes of this expedition. Nelson did use a separate notebook for the material he collected, however he never intended to publish anything from it. De Josselin de Jong, on the contrary, seemed to have been working on a forthcoming publication, which is however not explicitly mentioned in his diary.

In De Josselin de Jong (1926: 7), he mentions all his informants who contributed stories to his collection. Information from the diary shows how much time was actually taken for the interviews with each informant. He also notes at what place the meetings are taking place.

Unlike Nelson, De Josselin de Jong had moments in which two, or even more, Creole speaking informants were present together. For instance, on March 8, 1923, he met about eight people together who were speakers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole with several levels of proficiency. During the first meeting with Henry Roberts on this day, Roberts tells jokes with an old woman, and so De Josselin de Jong could have observed a conversation in Dutch Creole. Unfortunately, this meeting was too noisy to make notes.

By presenting metalinguistic information from De Josselin de Jong's journal I have tried to show that a philological approach in terms of audience design is also of importance in interpreting 20th century materials in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. A critical analysis of the early twentieth century sources of spoken Virgin Islands Dutch Creole from this perspective, may help to clarify ambiguities in earlier studies in which De Josselin de Jong's texts were studied closely, like for instance Stolz (1986) and Van Sluijs (2011, 2017).

Part V

Conclusion and references

17. Final remarks

It is clear that working with a historical corpus like the one available for Virgin Islands Dutch Creole has its problems. We must be critical about our results and not be tempted to draw premature conclusions. On the other hand, we should not simply set texts aside because they are not fully ‘authentic’: often, it is all we have. Similar to an archaeologist who has just found some bones, the experience of the researcher, the site where the remains were found, the age of the material, other findings nearby, etcetera, may perhaps not reveal the interesting human remains which were already present in his or her imagination, but they do show something substantial and they can be dated. In the following section, I will first recapitulate the value of the methods I used. In the final section of this summary chapter, I will reiterate my research questions and try to summarize my answers, where possible, and point to some avenues for further research.

17.1 Introduction

A distinctive characteristic of the Creole languages is the opportunity they give to study the first stages of a new language. There is however one important restriction: the study can only succeed when the sources are recognized as authentic representations of the Creole language in question.

The variant of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole that has a claim to absolute authenticity is the one recorded with the last speakers in the 1970s and 1980s. The language samples that were gathered in the 1923 and 1936 also represent reasonably authentic speech, although a closer look at the recording of these is necessary before drawing this conclusion. However, the authenticity of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch sources is more problematic. The language used is bookish, mainly related to missionary activities, and often similar to Dutch.

One possible reason for these eighteenth century texts to be like Dutch can of course be related to the speech community on the Danish Antilles in the early eighteenth century. Dutch was the dominant language and it is conceivable that not only the enslaved Africans, but also the European translators, had to learn Dutch. A lexical continuum in which formal written Dutch, dialect influenced Caribbean Dutch, but also Dutch-like Creole are present, is easy to imagine. On the other hand, it was also common in European Dutch for a much more formal, bookish, variant in to be used written texts than what would have been used in the vernacular.

Muysken (2013: 717) presents four possible trajectories for Creole languages to emerge, following different strategies. However: ‘Following the logic of the code-switching studies in terms of optimization strategies, the claim inherent here is that no single strategy may explain the genesis of Creoles. Rather, the four competing strategies have played a role in different combinations, in the genesis of specific Creoles, thus explaining why they do not form a uniform class of languages.’ For the study of the earliest stages of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and for the search for authenticity of the eighteenth century sources, a look at these strategies may be helpful.

In the case of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, the L1 strategy of relexification would lead to an African grammatical pattern with Dutch vocabulary. It is almost

impossible to check this since most of the earliest texts are written by European missionaries, or are translated from European source texts. An underlying African pattern can however be shown in several cases (Van Sluijs 2017). The result of convergence of sub- and superstrate systems, the second strategy, is also hard to ascertain for the same reason as mentioned above; on first sight, the substrate is much less present in eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole material.

Reliance on universal patterns would lead to universal Creole elements in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which can indeed be found. The use, for instance, of TMA-structure, SVO-order, preverbal negation, serial verb constructions, epenthetic vowels and the use of *for* 'in order to', are recognized as more or less typical for Creole languages in the Caribbean and are present in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996: 4-18).

The most interesting strategy, which seems to relate to the Dutch/European character of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, is the imitation of European vernacular varieties. This strategy can be documented by the presence of numerous lexical items from the Dutch dialects of Zeeland and West Flanders.

The last two strategies are also linked to the ratio of enslaved people and colonists. The fact that this ratio did not differ hugely during the first decades of the colony, may indicate a situation in which the enslaved people of African heritage learned Dutch as it was spoken on St. Thomas. Since demographic information shows that the families were multinational and often composed of people born in the Caribbean, this Dutch vernacular may well have been a Caribbean dialect of Dutch, which was perhaps even used as a lingua franca. However, at least on the eastern part of St. Thomas, the ratio of enslaved Africans to European colonists was not as equal as on the rest of the island. It may well be that the Creole emerged on these plantations, lexically modeled on the Dutch of the plantation owners.

The wide use of Dutch within the speech community on the Danish Antilles until the second half of the eighteenth century must have been important (chapters 3, 5); however, we do not have written sources that present us with the natural day-to-day speech of L1 Creole speakers. All texts are written by authors and translators who are in some way connected to missionary activities. Most of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts have a missionary character. Although a reason for the language in these texts being closely related to Dutch can be related to a strategy for creolization, the texts themselves need to be analyzed with caution because of their authors, content and use.

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to question or discuss possible strategies for the process of creolization of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. I have focused on strategies to gauge the authenticity of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts, using various techniques from philology, and carefully studying the metalinguistic evidence. The theoretical model used is that of Audience Design (Bell 1984).

17.2 Philological techniques to study authenticity

When building the corpus that is digitally available as the Clarin-NEHOL corpus, we chose to edit the text diplomatically. All information present in the text manuscripts themselves, like emendations, glosses, comments, etcetera, were noted and encoded by diplomatic symbols.

The question of why the authors made these notes and changes naturally arises; however, they were undoubtedly made to make the texts more appropriate.

In texts which were digitally available in Clarin,¹ but also in the texts which have not yet been entered into this database, some emendations appeared to be remarkable, not only because of the way in which they were made, but also because they could be connected to the choice that the author made to best connect the text to their audience.

The way of presenting two alternatives on top of each other to indicate that the reader should pick the one that fits best, is unique. It not only shows an interesting technique to adapt to the audience, but also gives an insight into which linguistic elements were under discussion when the text was translated. The presentation of prepositions in these cases is remarkable. We see a change in the use of Dutch-related prepositions and collocations in the use of, for instance, the Creole universal preposition *na* (chapter 8).

Another example of the author's awareness of the need to make linguistic choices, is the use of numbers to indicate word order change. It shows that, in most cases, the translator is aware of a difference between word order in the German source text and in the language of the audience. However, some changes appeared to be the other way around: a more or less Creole order was changed for unclear reasons. It appeared that the audience of the texts not only consisted of Creole speakers, with whom it was necessary to make a connection in order to present the Gospel to them, but also of an authority, which may require a close relation to, for instance, the source texts used. I consider this authority as an element of referee design and view the changes made that are related to the referee as the ones that give the texts an artificial, bookish, image (chapter 9).

Two other strategies appeared to reveal these two groups in the audience. After studying replacement and addition of linguistic elements, emendations towards a group of Creole speakers can be recognized when relatively complex items, related to Christianity or elements from a culture unknown to the enslaved from African heritage, are explained or replaced by elements that connect better. However, among these changes, we also find changes that can be related to referee design. It seems as if some Christian elements are mandatory. These elements remain in the texts because of educational purposes (chapter 10, 12).

A first look at our material, in 1991, already made us suspect that at least one of the Gospel Harmonies was much more influenced by English than the rest. A closer look at the changes as mentioned above confirmed the use of an English source text. The question of why this text was preferred arises. I will go into this in 17.3.

Within the field of philology, comparison of related texts using a critical apparatus, is one of the techniques to study the heritage of texts. However, it is also possible to focus on the changes from a linguistic point of view. Comparison of hymns, in which the composition is bound to metrical feet, shows a change of lexical items. Again, the comparison shows a change towards an English source text. Comparison of sections from the Gospel Harmony showed close relations and mutual divergence. For instance, the earliest texts, 321 and 322, both by Böhner, are alike, but also show similarities to the language used in the New Testament of

¹ Clarin-NEHOL is a part of *The Language Archive*, <https://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/asv/?1>.

Magens (315) which is distinct from variants that were translated about ten years later. These similarities underline the authenticity of these texts and give an argument against German Moravian or Danish Lutheran text reflecting a more authentic variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (chapter 11).

The possible limitation of this philological approach is that every element shows an interesting view of the considerations of the translators during their work and during the process of editing, which makes a systematic approach necessary. Future research should therefore be focused on linguistic elements rather than on diplomatic symbols. The philological information should however be taken into account to confirm the authenticity of the sources.

17.3 Audience design and metalinguistic evidence for authenticity

Authenticity of texts can only be studied when it is clear who the authors and the audience of these texts are. An emendation is made to improve the connection to the audience, and may therefore reveal who is actually a member of this audience. The situation is, however, more complex (see chapter 6)

Bell's (1984) Audience Design Model forces us to think about all participants in the speech community and their relationship to the author of the text. I focus on the situation among the Moravian Brethren.

The author is generally a male, German, who has lived for a long time, twenty to forty years, among the Creole speakers and is clear about his linguistic interests. He not only needs to master the Creole, but also the Dutch vernacular. From historical sources, we know that several missionaries used Creole, however, only a few wrote in it. Johann Böhner translated most of the texts and frequently reflected on his language use. Johann Auerbach was seen as the one to improve Böhner's translations, since he was considered the best user of Creole. Other translators whose background I have checked more superficially are Samuel Isles and Georg Weber. Domingo Gesoe, the only enslaved man of African heritage to translate a text into Dutch Creole, is also of interest.

The so-called helpers of the Moravian Brethren should be considered as the principal addressees. This separate group of members within the community functioned as intermediaries between the European Brethren and the people of African heritage. We only know the linguistic role of a few of these. A list of helpers reveals at least one remark about the command of the Creole language; however, of the best-known helper, Cornelius, we have a quote in which metalinguistic comments are given. Since the contact between authors and addressees may have been of importance for the eventual language in the translations, further study seems interesting. It may well be that the translators made emendations after comments of these addressees, but this cannot be proven.

The largest group within the audience consists of the auditors. Based on metalinguistic comments (chapter 5), we know that this was not a homogeneous group of L1 speakers of Creole. Rather, it consisted of speakers of all kinds of languages, African, European and Creole, for whom Virgin Islands Dutch Creole was an L1 or L2. When relating this to the authenticity of the texts, we should keep in mind that these texts should not only be understandable for fluent speakers of Creole, but also for the ones who are learning it, or use it with less competence. Emendations in which Creole items are explained can be a signal for this.

The situation among these auditors recalls the existing lects in eighteenth century Sranan in Surinam: Nengretongo (more basilectal) and Bakratongo (more acrolectal) (Van den Berg 2013), and Church Sranan (Voorhoeve 1957, 1971). It would not surprise me if the variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole most directly connecting to these auditors were not a Dutch Creole version of Nengretongo, but rather a lect comparable to a Dutch Creole version of Church Sranan and Bakratongo. Although I suspect it to be so, further research should investigate whether the Surinamese situation with Nengretongo, Bakratongo and Church Sranan is comparable to the one on the Danish Antilles with basilectal Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, Hochkreol and the missionary variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

In my opinion, the emendations made to connect to the auditors reflect the authentic Creole best. As I stated in chapter 6 and studied in part III, the authors assume that Creole is best for creating durable texts which are not specifically written for addressees, of whom linguistic feedback could be obtained, but for a changing audience over a longer period. The presence of these emendations shows that the authors were aware of the variations in use and the ways of making it more appropriate for the audience. These examples prove the authenticity of the eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts. I am convinced that the study of authentic historical Creoles in general, should focus on emendations of the authors towards this part of the audience.

Two groups within the audience who need to be taken into account are the overhearers and the eavesdroppers. In the texts, we hardly find any evidence for emendations or remarks towards these groups. However, striking words in languages other than Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, which are not directly related to missionary jargon, can easily be linked to the overhearers, and should not immediately be considered as part of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. It is not possible to find structural evidence for the connection of authors to eavesdroppers.

Referee design seems to reflect the opposite of auditor design. In order to connect to the prestigious content and jargon, texts are full of missionary jargon, including lexical items borrowed directly from Dutch vernacular, the closest European language related to Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in which Christian jargon is available, and from German or English source texts. See chapter 6 and the examples in part III. These items lack in Creole and are borrowed in order to educate the audience. These examples are the ones which can be recognized as artificial and which give the texts in an elevated style a European, bookish feel. As I stated in section 6.6, the situations in which these examples are found need to be studied with special care, in order to distinguish ‘artificial’ examples from authentic alternatives. The creativity of the missionaries in linking tradition to Creole, may especially present insight in their opinion about, lexical productivity in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Most of the striking European influence that may trigger the idea of the text being artificial is constituted by several cases that can be related to referee design. In my opinion, the referee consists of other missionaries and the tradition of translation, which demand correct use in order to stay close to the source text and to Christian jargon. As presented in several prefaces, it is considered worthwhile to educate the audience by teaching it the correct use of the language needed to understand Christianity (chapter 6).

The choice of German or Danish orthography to represent Creole words, including ‘etymological normalization’, through which Creole words gain a European look, seems to underline the artificial character. However, this is easy to explain. A reader will not appreciate it when texts are full of missionary lexicon, fixed constructions that seem to have been borrowed directly from the lexifier and sentences which appear to be word for word translations of European source texts. A closer, philological, look shows that the emendations towards referees, according to the tradition of translation, can be distinguished from the ones that were made towards the auditors. The texts remain bookish, but the emendations reveal an underlying knowledge of Creole that connects best to the audience.

Audience design of eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole cannot be studied without the help of metalinguistic comments. In the first place, information from the seventeenth century censuses presented information about the first inhabitants of the colony, who must have been present at the very first stage of the emergence of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (chapter 3). With regard to the colonists, not only the amount of them appears to be of interest, but the heritage of surnames, the places of birth, age, composition of families etcetera are also of interest and explain the appearance of Zeelandic and West Flemish lexical items in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The role of the enslaved people in the genesis of the Creole is also bigger than just the number of people in relation to that of the colonists. A closer look at the age of the enslaved Africans shows that the children were a large influence in the community. The ratio of colonist to enslaved African remained low for decades, which points to the emergence of a language close to the lexifier. Alongside that, excerpts from all kinds of documents underline the role of Dutch in the colony. The author in the Audience Design Model therefore needs this variety of Dutch as the vernacular in the entire speech community.

Some metalinguistic comments are clear about which language to use in which situation. See for instance the remarks made in the prefaces of several translations (see 20.ch5) or in Oldendorp (2000, 2002). However, in some cases a closer look is necessary. For instance, the remarks in Oldendorp’s dictionary sometimes consist of a single word, but reveal the subtle distinctions. Good examples of translations that would absolutely confuse the Creole readers can be found in the letters of Böhner about the language in the hymn books (chapter 5).

17.4 Original research questions and issues for further research

At the start of my project, I listed seven research questions for myself.

The first two questions can be dealt with together: 1. What did the missionaries think about the language into which they were translating? And 2. Were the missionaries focused on correct use of the target language or on the correct presentation of the, often religious, source texts? In chapter 5, *Metalinguistic comments*, I go into this matter in detail. The preface of Magens (1781) says that Virgin Islands Dutch Creole lacked words that were necessary for correct Bible translations. These words could then be borrowed from Dutch because of the close linguistic, lexical, relation between Dutch and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. In my study I used new sources for this strategy which underline the influence of referee design.

Further research with regard to these questions should focus on information from ego-documents like diaries and letters which I think can be found in the archives of the Moravian Mission in Herrnhut (Germany), Bethlehem (USA) and Zeist (The Netherlands). The study of the archives of the Danish Planter Carstens by Louise Sebro (project researcher of Nationalmuseet, Denmark) is very promising in this respect. Since Carstens was the first to take the initiative to translate the New Testament into Virgin Islands Dutch Creole,² his opinion about correct language use is crucial. Sebro (p.c., December 2, 2016) indicates that I can write without hesitation that Carstens's first language was Dutch and that he rarely used any other language. He corresponds with Von Zinzendorf in Dutch. The search for metalinguistic comments will be facilitated by the online access to the Danish West-Indian Archives in Copenhagen which was available from March 1st 2017 onward.

3. According to several sources, Danish and German missionaries were using different varieties of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. The Danish variety would be urban and spoken by higher social classes than the country-side oriented German variety. Can this dialectal difference be recognized in our corpus? In chapter 11, *Studying variants of texts to discover connection with audience*, it appears that there are hardly any texts for which variants of both Danish and German translators are preserved. The comparison of sections from the Gospel shows that the difference between the texts from about 1780 on the one hand, and the ones translated after 1790 on the other, is larger than the one between Magens' (Danish) text and the Moravian (German) translations. The critical metalinguistic comment by Cornelius about Magens' translation in relation to the one of Böhner (Böhner 1781) is interesting in this respect. Further research is needed here and can be facilitated by uploading more Creole texts of Danish translators into the Clarin-NEHOL database.

4. Which orthography do the missionaries use to represent the most correct variety of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole? One of the significant differences between the Danish and German texts is the use of the orthography, which is related to the native languages of the translators. Danish characteristics are, for instance, the use of <v> for /w/ and <y> for /y/. However, I cannot add any information to what was stated in Hesseling (1905: 71-74). Since I suppose that the artificiality of the early texts is also caused by the translators' choice to use an orthography already known to them, further study in this field should focus on the representation of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole sounds in Dutch, German and Danish, orthography.

5. Which emendation strategies do the translators and editors choose to improve their texts? In part III of this dissertation, four methods of emendation are presented. Replacing an item to improve a text (chapter 10) or adding an item to clarify a word or expression (chapter 12) are widely used, in our texts and in others. However, the vertical presentation of alternatives (chapter 8) and the word order change by numbers (chapter 9) are unique and are evidence of a critical perspective on the target language of the translator. Further research should also include the more common emendation strategies like additions and deletions in all texts. The number of these emendations was too high to include in this project. In addition, not all texts

² He is mentioned in Friedrich Martin's diary (November 8, 1736): 'Brother Carstens was industrious, wanted to translate the New Testament into the Creole'. See chapter 5.4.

were used to study the implications of emendations. In many cases the focus was on Gospel Harmonies and further research should also include other missionary texts.

6. Which variety of Virgin Island Dutch appears when all emendations are implemented? This is the key question creole scholars will want an answer to. It is too simple to suppose that implementation of all emendations makes the texts most similar to one language variety. Studying emendations and the comparison of variants shows that the author is not connecting to just one single variety. Use of Bell's Audience Design Model (chapter 6) shows that texts are emended with at least two groups in the audience in mind. Some emendations are made to connect to the liturgical tradition and the source texts, and thus towards the referee. Others are made to connect to the largest group in the audience, the auditors. But, who belongs to this audience? Extra linguistic information shows that not only L1 Creole speakers, but also L2 speakers of African and European heritage must have been involved. Emendations towards the auditors make the texts look more Creole. See for instance the changes towards SVO-word order, the use of preposition *na*, and substitutions of lexical items. Further research is necessary to find out whether this variety is Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, as spoken as a vernacular and still spoken in the twentieth century, or whether this variety is a lingua franca, which can be compared to the Bakratongo variety in Surinam (Van den Berg 2013), which connects best to the auditors, but still contains Europeanisms.

7. Do these text emendation strategies found in the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole also appear in comparable texts in other Creole languages? Within my research I only had the chance to do some comparison with the Sranan translations of Schumann (1781) and Wietz (1793). Unfortunately I did not have the chance to examine the manuscripts and to compare these to the diplomatic editions. A first look, however, shows emendations which are comparable to those in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts and therefore I consider the philological method helpful in studying both the audience design and the authenticity of these texts as well.

Although the focus of this study was Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, its close relation to Dutch lexicon and the sociolinguistic situation in which Dutch and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole were used alongside each other, we are lead to four additional questions. 8. To what extent was Dutch used as a vernacular in the Danish Antilles?

9. Which non-formal Dutch variety was used during the period of the emergence of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole in the area of genesis of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?

10. Was there a Caribbean Dutch dialect in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

11. Which language did the enslaved people of the Danish Antilles learn from the missionaries: Dutch or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole? I hope to have shown in chapter 3 that both demographic and dialectal information indicates the use of a variety of Dutch in the Caribbean, with a West Flemish/Zelandic lexicon. In chapter 5 I showed that Dutch as a vernacular was widely used on the Danish Antilles and that this language was initially used by the Moravian Brethren. Since most eighteenth century Dutch texts from the Caribbean appear to be of a written, formal variety, further research should, for instance, focus on letters written by people who were not trained writers. Databases like *Letters as Loot* (Brievens als Buit 2015) and *Gekaapte Brieven* (Van der Sijs 2012), and related historical sociolinguistic publications like Rutten & Van der Wal (2014) should be explored in this respect.

Although initially the focus of my project was on eighteenth century texts, a philological perspective, in relation to audience design, is also of help to study twentieth century material. My question was: 12. What does a philological perspective add to what we already know about twentieth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole and its study? It appears that not only an examination of the texts themselves is interesting, but that a focus on metalinguistic factors is helpful to study the authenticity of twentieth century material. Knowledge of the linguistic background of the field workers, their linguistic perspective and school, their fieldwork methods et cetera clarify their choices of method, texts and annotation. The authenticity of the early twentieth century is not questioned, but it does provide us with an extra perspective. In addition, a closer look at the texts and fieldwork makes it possible to carry out a comparison of texts to study variation even among a small group of informants. Further study can focus on the linguistic tradition in which De Josselin de Jong (chapter 15) was trained and will hopefully use the texts collected by Nelson (chapter 13 and 14) and commented on by Den Besten.

The research question which was the starting point of my study was: *How authentic is written eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole?* A traditional philological approach showed authors' and translators' attempts to connect to the audience. A closer look at the audience, using the Audience Design Model, showed that connection is not a simple process in which the author uses the style of his auditors, but a strategy in which the author takes all participants, even the ones not present, into account. Authentic Creole, as spoken by L1-speakers and as passed down into the twentieth century, cannot be reconstructed by simply taking all of the emendations into account. However, in several cases the author shows awareness of which elements and constructions are best for connecting to his Creole speaking auditors. Missionary jargon and Christian context, referee influence and European orthography all seem to lead to a mannered, artificial, bookish, use of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. However, the emendations to improve texts, the creativity to best connect to auditors, the metalinguistic comments of critical authors and the study of variants, show authentic elements which should not be ignored when studying this Creole language which was so richly documented, especially in its early stages.

18. Primary texts

- 127 *Die Helfer und Diener unter den Mohren in Thomas, Crux und Jan aus diesen selbst. Was von ihnen, aus ihrem Kirchen-Buche und aus dem Munde ihres 27jährigen Kirchen-Dieners Bruder Georg Weber aus gefasst worden, Im Nov. 1760.* UA: R15Ba, 27-11.
- 311 Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von. 1742, *Büdingische Sammlung einiger in die Kirchenhistorie einschlagender, sonderlich neuerer Schrifften. Erster Band* (Büdingen: Stöhr). (Reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1965. p. 453-457: *Des Hrn. Grafen Zinzendorff Abschied-Schreiben an die Negers in St. Thomas, in Cariolischer Sprache.* p. 483-485: *Der erweckten Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an Jhro Majest. den König in Dännemarck.* An. 1739. p. 485-487: *Der Ältestin der Gemeine der Negros in St. Thomas Schreiben an die Königin von Dännemarck.* An. 1739.)
- 315 [Magens, Jochum Melchior]. 1781. *Die Nywe Testament van ons Heer Jesus Christus ka set over in die Creols tael en ka giev na die ligt tot dienst van Die Deen Mission in America* [Gedrykt in Copenhagen, 1781. Bie Die Erfgenamen van Godiche]. Copenhagen: Godiche. 10,9 x 18,7 cm, 1166 pp. numbered + 38 pp.
- 318 Anon. 1802. *Die Nieuwe Testament van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, na Creol-Taal.* Barby: 1802.
- 3110 Anon. 1833. *Die Geskiednis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, soo as die vier Evangelist sender ka skriev die op.* New York: Printed by the American Tract Society for the United Brethren's Mission in the Danish West-India Islands, 1333 [1833].
- 321 [Böhner, Johann] *Die Geschichte users HEERN und Heilandes Jesu Christi, aus den Vier Evangelisten zusammengezogen, Un aus dem Deutsch in die Creolsprache übersetzt zum Gebrauch in dem Versammlung Haus der Neeger Gemeine.* Mit einem Rgister zur anweisung der Stäglichten Evangelium. Before 1780. 15,0 x 19,0 cm, 406 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6g.
- 321z Anon. Fragment of Acts 5: 22-40. glued on last page of ms. 324. UA: NBVII R3, 6h.
- 322 [Böhner, Johann] *Die Handelingen of Geskiedenis van ons HEER en Heiland JEsus Christus ut die Vier Evangelisten na een tesamenhang gefoegt.* Before 1780. 16,1 x 20,1 cm, 4 + 528 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6f.
- 3231 *Die Geskiedenis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, opgeskreeven van die vier Evangelisten Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas en Johannes (3.2.3.1);* UA: NBVII R3, 6d.
- 3232 *Die Geskiednis van ons Heere en Heiland Jesus Christus, soo as die vier Evangelist sender ka skriev die op (3.2.3.2).* In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. Late 18th or early 19th century. 15,5 x 19,8 cm., respectively 107 pp. and 97 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6d.
- 324 [Böhner, J.] *Die Briefen van die Apostel sender.* [and the revelation of John]. 15,6 x 20,1 cm, 259 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6h.
- 325 [Böhner, J.] *Ein abermaliger Versuch, Etwas aus den Büchern der heiligen Schrift Alten Testaments in die Creol (oder Neger) Sprache zu übersetzen, und in*

- eine harmonische Zeitordnung gebracht, und in den dunkeln Stellen aus dem deutlichen Vortrag und Zusammenhang Des Grundtextes erlaeutert* End 18th century. 3 volumes, 15,4 x 20,0 cm, 1038 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6e1/6e2/6e3.
- 326 Böhner, Johann. *Korte Begrieb van die Christlike Leer, nabin die evangelische Broedergemeenten daer geleept van August Gottlieb Spangenberg*. Niw Herrnhuth: 1780. 2 volumes, 15,5 x 19,3 cm, 650 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6i1/6i2.
- 3311 Die kleentje Catechismus van Docter Mart*in Luther*. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 28 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6d.
- 3313 [A free translation of Genesis 1,16 - 4,26]. Some commentaries added. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 32 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6d.
- 3314 [Two Dutch sermons]. 1740. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 16 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6d.
- 3315 [Four Creole sermons from 1796/97]. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 46 pp. UA: NBVII R3, 6d.
- 3317 *Memorabilia, in Creole*. 1767. In: [A number of diverse texts, partially dated]. 8 pp. UA: NBVII R3 6d.
- 334 *Beilage zum Diario von St. Thomas vom Monat August 1755 - a) Etliche Cariolische Lieder*. 1755. 6 pp. UA: R15Bb Nr.6-2m.
- 335 *Plicht van Een helper Broeder en Süster*. 4 pp. UA: R15Ba Nr.27-12.
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- Böhner, Johann. 1773. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 15 June 1773 to Brüder indem Herrn, die Unitäts Ältesten Conferenz]. 11 pp. UA: R15 Ba 21 a 51.
- Böhner, Johann. 1780. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 21 January 1780 to Bruder Joseph [Spangenberg], Barby, Germany]. 2 pp. UA: R15 Bb 26 b 113.
- Böhner, Johann. [Letter from Neu Herrnhut in St. Thomas, 2 August 1781 to Bruder Joseph [Spangenberg], Barby, Germany]. 2 pp. UA: R15 Bb 26 b 218.
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19. References

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20. Appendices

20.ch3 Appendices chapter 3: *Demography and Language*

20.ch3.1 Oldendorp (2000) about Dutch and Dutch Creole
Oldendorp (2000: 683-684):

‘Hieraus ist diese vermischte **criolische** Sprache nach und nach erwachsen, welche in Ansehung ihrer Wörter hauptsächlich in **holländische** und **plattdeutsche** oder **niedersächsische**, mehr aber diese als [773] jene, und in der **Construction** oder Ordnung derselben, die **französische** zur Grundlage, sonst aber viel Eigenes und insonderheit - obzwar ihre Art zu **declinieren** mit der **holländischen** und **plattdeutschen** ziemlich übereinkommt - eine ganz eigene Art zu **conjugieren** hat. Daß sich in derselben so viele **holländische** und **plattdeutsche** Wörter befinden, kommt von den **Holländern** und **Brandenburgern** her, welche in der ersten Zeit den größten Teil der Einwohner von **St. Thomas** ausmachten.

Es ist aber ganz natürlich, daß eine solche neue oder in eine neue Form gegossene Sprache die Rechtschreibung derjenigen, von welcher sie die meisten Wörter hat und von der sie also zunächst herkommt, nach Möglichkeit beibehält, und daß daher das **Criolische** auf diesen Eilanden entweder nach **holländischer** oder nach **niedersächsischer** Art geschrieben werden müsse. Die **holländische** ist aber um deswillen vorzuziehen und eher dazu zu gebrauchen, weil sie bekannter und gewöhnlicher ist als die **niedersächsische** oder **plattdeutsche** Art zu schreiben, worin man wenig oder nichts Gedrucktes hat, auch von derselben nur in wenigen [774] Stücken abgeht, weil im **Criolischen** eine Menge **holländische** Wörter sich befindet, welche ganz verunstaltet werden und sich nicht mehr ähnlich sehen würden, wenn man sie anders schriebe, hauptsächlich aber deswegen, weil die Schwarzen, welche lesen lernen, es **holländisch** lernen; die man also billig durch eine andere Schreibart, sonderlich durch andere selbstlautende Buchstaben nicht irre und ihnen das Lesen, wozu sie ohnedas wenig Zeit haben, nicht noch schwerer macht und sie in Verwirrung setzt, wenn sie in einer **criolischen** Schrift **holländische** Wörter sehen, die ihnen nach der **holländischen Orthographie** gleich bekannt, aber in einer veränderten Gestalt ganz fremd sind. Es ist auch diese **Orthographie** schon längst in dem **criolischen** Gesangbüchlein und andern kleinen gedruckten Stücken gebraucht und eingeführt worden; und die Schwarzen, welche lesen können, sind daran gewöhnt und bringen es andern nach derselben bei. Überhaupt würde eine seltsame Verwirrung und Unordnung entstehen, wenn ein jeder das **Criolische** nach seiner Muttersprache, nach seiner Einbildung, nach dem bloßen Gehör, welches oft trügt und nach allen dem Falschen, was oft nur von einigen Schwarzen und in einer oder der andern Gegend hineingebracht wird, schreiben wollte. Es ist notwendig, daß bei der Rechtschreibung dieser Sprache, so wie bei allen, etwas Gewisses und Unveränderliches zum Grunde gelegt werde, und daß man sonderlich immer einerlei Vocalen gebrauche. Und dazu schickt sich aus den angeführten Ursachen die **holländische Rechtschreibung** am besten. Die

Missionarien von der **Brüderkirche**, welche alle deutsch verstehen, können sich dieselbe leicht bekannt machen. Die **stummen Buchstaben** sind darin so wie im **Deutschen**. Nur die **lauten** sind meistens anders.

Vom **Holländischen** und **Plattdeutschen** oder **Niedersächsischen** hat sie den **Artikel** und die **Fürwörter** oder **Pronomina**, wiewohl mit starker und bisweilen seltsamer Veränderung, die **Zahlwörter**, die mehresten **Verba**, die auch oft sehr verändert sind, die meisten **Vorwörter** oder **Präpositionen**, **Conjunctionen**, **Adverbia** und **Nennwörter**, sowohl solche, womit sie die Dinge, als womit sie deren Beschaffenheit anzeigen. **Holländisch** ist zum Exempel *behou* behalten, *belof* versprechen, *gebur* geschehen, sich zutragen, *ondervind* erfahren, *nooit* nimmer, *steert* Schwanz, *koud* kalt, *klaar* fertig, *beesig* fleißig, *vies* ekelhaft, *vul* unrein und sonst eine Menge Wörter. Plattdeutsch oder **niedersächsisch** ist, wie die Aussprache anzeigt,

[783] Nach einem Dialect heißt es auch *jelli*, welches von dem niedersächsischen **Ji Lüe ihr Leute**, entstanden ist. Eher hilft es zur Erlernung dieser Sprache, wenn man etwas **Holländisch** versteht und viele Wörter davon weiß, ohne daß man es fertig reden kann. Sonderlich ist das **Niedersächsische**, wenn man davon etwas ver- [810] steht, dazu ein gutes Hülfsmittel, wie ich selber erfahren habe.'

20.ch3.2 Internet sites family names

Belgium: <http://familienaam.be/>, Rijksregister 1998, dr. A. Marynissen en P. Bijmens.

Denmark: <http://xpoint.experian.dk/navnekort/>, Danmarks Statistik and <http://www.danskernesnavne.navneforskning.ku.dk/personnavne.asp>,

Navneforskning, Københavns Universitet.

France: <http://www.geopatronyme.com>

Germany: <http://www.verwandtschaft.de/karten>

Great Britain: <http://gbnames.publicprofinder.org/>, University College London

The Netherlands: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/nfb/>, Meertens Institute, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

US Virgin Islands: <http://www.vifamilies.org/>

20.ch3.3 Name list of the first European inhabitants of St. Thomas (1678)

First column: names in the same order as Knox (1852: 247-248); Second column: variants of the family names in other censuses; Third column: the origin of the person as presented in a census.

Bold: Dutch origin. Italics: suspected Dutch origin. Related names are presented between parenthesis.

	<i>Names (Knox (1852))</i>	<i>Variants in other Censuses</i>	<i>Origin presented in a census</i>
1	Jan Cramues.	Cramue, Cramuij	Flanders
2	Lader Sveins	Swain, Swains	England
3	Jesper Jansen.	Jasper Jansen Ross	Zeeland
4	<i>Arian de Vos</i>	- (<i>De Vos, Devos?</i>)	-
5	Hans Poulsen	-	Danish?
6	Mads Hansen.	-	Roskilde, Denmark
7	<i>Jan Ducken</i>	-	-
8	Caril Baggart	Baggaert	Middelburg, Zeeland¹
9	<i>Gillis Pad</i>	<i>Johan Gilles</i>	<i>Flanders?(Pat)</i>
10	Andrias Saman	-	Zeeland
11	Thomas Sveins, Jr.	Swain. Swains	England
12	Knud Rasmussen.	(Jens Rasmussen)	Langeland, Denmark)
13	Simon von Ockeron.	Van Okeren	Flanders
14	Lambert Bastiansen.	-	The Netherlands
15	Piero Turbullies	-	-
16	Rasmus J. Bladt.	-	-
17	Hans Jorgen Bodker.	-	-
18	Joes van Campenhout.	Campenhout, Compenhaus	Bevernem, Bavarnam (Beernem, Flanders?)
19	Parsons Estate	Estate of Oliandus?	-
20	Jesper Bashervil.	-	-
21	Philip Grantels.	Grandel	St. Thomas, 1675, orphan
22	<i>Hans Mols</i>	-	<i>Brabant?</i>
23	Lars Andersen.	-	-
24	<i>Nelle Devael</i>	<i>De Wal</i>	<i>Flanders?(De Wal)</i>
25	Fransoa Lacroijes	-	-
26	J. Warnus	-	-
27	Anthoni Perepau	Parropar	The Netherlands
28	Maria Gauss	-	-
29	<i>Barent rondts</i>	-	<i>Dutch?(Rond)</i>
30	Peter Pietersen.	Pieters	The Netherlands
31	<i>Andrias Zygers.</i>	-	<i>? (Siegers)</i>
32	<i>Jan. Gouf.</i>	-	<i>? (Goff)</i>
33	Crambays.	-	-

¹ Westergaard (1917: 23)

34	Marcus cloet.	-	Zeeland? (Kloet), Flanders? (Cloet)
35	Jelles Davidts.	-	The Netherlands
36	Arn. Nikkels.	-	-
37	<i>Cornelius Jansen.</i>	-	-
38	Jan Dunker.	-	Curaçao? ²
39	<i>Anthoni de Woo.</i>	-	family of Adrian de Wos?
40	Nicolay and Adolph Esmitt.	-	Holstein
41	Domine Oliandus.	Estate of Oliandus	-
42	Wilhelm. Just.	-	-
43	Lorviss Barvil.	-	-
44	Jacob Thoma.	-	Leyden, The Netherlands
45	Loduce Bonduid.	-	-
46	Christopher Heins.	Heintz	Danish? Name seems from Holstein
47	Lucas Wolkersen.	Folekers, Volkers	Holland, Friesland
48	Robben. Brag.	Brach	England
49	Pier de Puy	Du Pui, Van Buy	France
50	Pieter de Buijk	De Buik	The Netherlands
51	Cornelis Jacobsen.	-	Brabant
52	Mary Gauf. ³	-	(see Jan Gauf) ⁴

² In the census of 1691, lot 112, it is indicated that 30 of the 51 slaves belong to mister Doncker from Curaçao. Svend Holsoe (<http://www.vifamilies.org/dlistings.html>) presents the following information (including references): '**Donckers, Jan** [Jan Doncker] A business friend of Jørgen Iversen on Curaçao. In 1677, a plantation on St. Thomas was granted to Jan Doncker near Crum Bay, and this plantation was deeded to him on the 26 June 1680.' Since Dunker and Doncker are variants of the same name, Curaçao may be a possible origin of this person.

³ Perhaps the token <f> is a misreading of the so-called 'long s'. In that case, the names Maria Gauss and Mary Gaus look quite alike.

⁴ Knox (1852: 248): 'The eight other names could not be made out, the original copies of the deeds being in a mutilated condition'.

20.ch5 Appendices chapter 5: Metalinguistic comments*20.ch5.1 Use of Dutch in the Danish Antilles*

The original text of the letter of Arendt Heinderijcksz to Jens Juel, St. Eustatius to Copenhagen, 26/5 February 1672.

(Letter 2008, <http://www.gekaaptebrieven.nl/tekst/brief/2008>)

‘J Juel

A(nn)o 1672

Eersame ser Dichteten Groot Gunstiger
 heer saluijt vl gelijft te weeten als dat
 jck met mijn folck noch clock e(nde) gesondt ben
 veerhoppende het selfde met mijn Groot
 Gunstinger heer voors gelijft mijn heer te
 weeten als daet jck hier ben den 9/19 Desemb(er)
 ben geardiuert e(nde) legh hier e(nde) verwaght
 ferro met smerten voors heb jck voorstaen
 als daet ferro noch jn Nouember heft tot
 Copenhagen gewest e(nde) hier js hoopen folck die
 naer ferro voorlangen om mede te volgen nar
 sint tomes voors weet jck mijn Groot Gunsti
 ger heer niet mer te schriuen daen Godt befolen
 e(nde) de groetnise aen al de Edel heerren de
 Edel Coppanni
 VL d(ienst)w(illige) D(ienaer)
 Arendt Heinderijcksz.

Acttum den 26/5
 feberuarij jnt jagt
 De Gauden Cron
 op de Ree vaen staecio.’

English translation:

J. Juel, Anno 1672

Honorable, very close, great benefactor,

Lord, greetings, you need to know that me and my crew are still valiant and healthy, hoping the same to my great benefactor lord. Furthermore my lord should know that I have arrived here the 9/19th of December and lie here and await the Faroer anxiously. Furthermore I have understood that the Faroer was still in Copenhagen in November and there are a number of people here who long for the Faroer to follow to Saint Thomas. Furthermore I do not know what to write to my great benefactor lord other than to recommend God and greetings to all the noble lords, the noble company,

Your accommodating servant,

Arendt Heinderijcksz.

acted on the 26/5⁵ of February in the yaught The Golden Crown on the roadstead of St. Eustatius

The original text of public letter to governor Moth and his reaction.

(184, Vestistindiske Kolonisters; Kiobenhavn fremforte klager og forslag. vedk. 1730 – 1752. Dokumenter aug. St. Thomse indyggernes ved kancellirad Hans Scavenius indgivne besvaeringes 1730-1732: 2-3)

‘Ten darden, dewijl wij denken dat de Hooge Heeren Niets naar der sullen behartigen als de Justitie, soo flatteer en wij ons dat Haarl. sullen de Inconvenienties, die daarin zijnde af helpen. *t’Regt wort in een ons On bekende taale ge Eterceert, het welke ver oorsaaft lange ophouden door Translaties, dikmaals veel disavantage wegens dat de Translateurs niet de habielste zijn, en de zin van de Originalen oft qualijk oversetten of verswacken*, het doet ook dat men sijne saake is verplicht aan de assistenten als advocaten over te geeven die soo wel door Verwaarloossinge als Ignorance Een goede Proces connen doen verliesen, waar door dog arme of Weezen benadeelt werden en geen Reparatie bij den advocaat konnen krijgen. De assessores in t’Regt, Tingmannen genoemd, die getuijgen moeten weesen van het geene in t’Regt Passeert, verstaan ook de Taal niet, en kunnen niet als Onnuttige*.* aangesien worden. Bij aldien t’ordinaire Raats Regt ook op den Ouden voet met de President van den Gouverneur Wierd vast gestelt, soude ook het Regt soo heel aansienlijks maaken, dan nu ter contrarie de Vreemde die hier comen maar wijnigh veneratie daar voor hebben, en dikwils – daarin nu ook menschen precideeren die het Lants toestant wijnig kennen, zonder van andere kunnen qualijtjen te Oordeelen.’ (St. Thomas, April 6, 1727)

‘St. Thomas d 4 Maij 1727 is den volgende request aan het GouVERNEMENT gepresenteerd. (...)

5. Dewijle ons Aldergenaadigste Coninghs Meergemelde resolutie om Grootelijk voeght geeft om te denken datt*.* en Zuade Aanstaldt omtrent het houden van den Ordinairen Raad alhier gemaakt is, Overmits men in den Zelven doet Zietten dusdanige personen als nooitjs voor deesen gebruijkelijk is geweest; soo wildn wij Verzoeken dat zelve voortaan geordineerd word*.* op Zulken voet als het geweest is in de Teijden wann*.* de Ordinaire raadts Vonnissen directe aen de Heeren Directeurs geappelleerds wurden, want Zulk over eenstemmigh is met meergemelde alder genadig*.* resolutie en alsoo meenige een die de Deensche Taal niet maghtighen is, en Zijn recht kan Coerompeeren wanneer hij zijn zaak niet zelfs kan voorspreken soo is het van de Hoogste Aangeleegentheit *dat beide reghten alhier in de Neederduijtsche Taale moogen gehouden werden te meer om dat de drie vierde Part van deese inwoonderen niet de Deense Taale maar de duijtsche verstaen*, en alle contracten, testamen*ten* Ook in de duijtsche Taal; geschreewen worden, en wannee*r* die voor reghten moeten coomen, Translatie VerEij*sen* die

⁵ The mention of two dates shows that still both Julian and Gregorian calendar were used.

Dikwils den Zinn Verswakken en Confusie Veroorzaaken, ook denken wij Voeght te hebben Zulk*s* te begeeren, om dat onse gedeupeteerdens Voorstel aan*den* Koning het Zelfde geweest is, en het welke Zijne Maje*steit* met stil swijgen Aldergenaadigste heeft gelieven te beantwoorden, waaromme wij het aanZien als eene toestemminge –‘

Transcription of letter J.C. Auerbach, Niesky, S^t Thomas, March 10th, 1774

‘Die hab well twee drie onder die swart Volk, die sender a leer vor verstaan beetje van die hollandisch Taal,

as sender woon na die Stadt, en hoor <↑die> ider Dag van die Blanko, maar die Plantey-Volk no kan vor verstaan die soo. Doch, die no sal maak een Verhinder, as die lieve Broeer will skriev eenmaal na sender, maski die ben Hollandisch, of na die Hoogduytisch, soo die sal maak sender goe moeschi bli, en ons sal lees die Brief voor sender na Creol. | | Na S^t Croex die hab meer van die Negers, die sender kan verstaan English, as na S^t Thomas en S^t Jan, maar doch, sender <←English Praat> ka mingel ook altoeveel met die Creol- en Guinee-Taal. Da Neger-English die ben.’

20.ch5.2 Metalinguistic comments J. Böhner

Preface manuscript 326

Korte Begriep Van die Christlike Leer nabin die evangelische Broedergemeenten, daer geleept van August Gottlieb Spangenberg. (Idea Fidei Fratrum, 1780)

‘Korte Begriep Van die Christlike Leer nabin die evangelische Broedergemeenten, daer geleept van August Gottlieb Spangenberg.

Und nach empfang dieses Werthen Boechs in die Creol oder Neger Sprache übersetzt, auch zu beliebig em gebrauch für die Neger Gemeine dar aus vor zulesen, weil doch die wenigsten selbst lesen können.
der über sezer
Johannes Böher.

An die Leaser von dem übersezer Da d*e*r Verfasser dieser Vortreflich Schrift in seinem Brief zur begleitun dieses Boechs Sagt: Vileicht über sezt[-*.*] auch ein bruder w*..*her die [-S] Creol Sprache gut inne hat diese und jene Stellen ins Cr<ol.e>olsche, un<ol.d> das würde eine vortrefliche übung seyn in *der* sprache sowl als in der sache selbst.⁶ Ich fühlt dem gleich eine neigung da zu und nahm die Arbeit im Namen Gottes vor, da ich doch schon so ein 38 Jahr mit den Negern umgang gehabt habe. Ich habe nicht viel über gangen weil alles so zu Sammenhangend ist, jedoch etwas, meine Br<ol.n>r die an den Neger arbeiten u. mit ih<ol.r>em Statu bekant sind, wird e[-n]<ol.s> schon deutlich seyn wa<ol.r>um.

Ma*n* muss sich aber nicht by der un\cierl. Schrift aufhalten, es hats eine alte zitte<ol.r>nde Hand geschrieben dass nicht alle Letter geraten, jedoch ist es zu leesen,

⁶ This comment was made by Spangenberg and is referred to in Böhner’s letter of January 21, 1780.

u. ohn Fehler istes auch nicht, sie sind mir bewust. Ich habe auch hie u. da ein hoch deute*sh* u. Holländisch Woort gebrachen u. by behaten müssen, u. ich achte [-es] es nicht für <ol.s>chaden wenn wir auch die Creol Sp mit Wöter die si nicht hat, etwas ver bessern die man doch den Creolen kan Ver [-s*..*d]<↓staend>lich machen.’

Preface manuscript 322

Manuscript 322, *Die Handelingen of Geskiedenis van ons HEER en Heiland JESus Christus ut die Vier Evangelisten na een te\sammenhang gefoegt* (Gospel Harmony, about 1780).

‘Voor red, ook in\leijing tot die Boeki.

Lieve Gemeenten, die ons hab vor bedien, door die Heere Si Gnade met die Woord van Godt, tot jender Saligheit in eewig Leev, hier na die Eylanden St. Thomas, St. Croeix en St. Jean!

Die ben noe al sommig Jaar geleeden, dat ons a ka Leveer jender een Creol Psalm-Boeki, dat jender a sal kan help vor sing wanneer ons hab ons versammelingen, sooveel as van jender ka leer vor lees, en vor mak gebruk van die ookal, wanneer jender sett nabin jender Hoes sonder, [-sonder] vor wees na Werk, vor kom bekend met die Psalmen (of Liederen.)

Maar die a ka kom goe na mi Sinn; derwiel jender a ka krieg een Gesangboek, dat jender krieg die Leer en leev van ons Saligmaaker, Jesus <↓Christus!> ookal voor Lees, met die Handel[-l]elingen en Briefen van die Apostel sender; welk hab die Nam: die Neuwe Testament. Maskee jender krieg een part van die, vor hoor lees nabin die Kerk sender; doch jender no krieg allegaar vor\hoor, Wat van Godt Si Woord en Wonder Werken bin op\geskreven na die heilig Skrift voor ons. Soo mi a ka neem voor, vor skriev die noch Eenmaal af, vor stier die na Vaderland na ons Voorgang-Broeders, dat sender sal latstaan druk die, soo as die a ka geskied met die Singboek. En sender ook a ka beloof na ons vor doe die; Want sender selv ben voor, dat die Geskiedenis van ons HEER en Heiland Jesus Christus, soo as die a ka skriev op van die vier Evangelisten sender, dat jender sal krieg <↑die> na die Handen, vor lees die na die Creol Taal. En sender a wees ook Blie over mi Arbeid, na die Oversett ut (of: van) die heili Skrift na jender Taal, die\toen mi a ka gie weeten\skap van die, en sender a ka wensch mi ook Seegen tot die, met gezondheid en lang Leev, na Dienst onder jender.

En dietoe*n* mi a ka krieg een Boeki, na die die Leev, en Leer en Werken van ons Heiland, ka skriev ut van die vier Evangelist sender na een tesamenhang, soo as die a ka geskied aster malkander, vanaf si [-S] Ontfangnis nabin Mama Liff, tee na si Hemelvaart. Want een Evangelist no a ka skriev allegaar op; maar all vier. Soo die hab noe die Naam: Ha<↑r>[-r]moni. En die ben goe mooi, dat ons kan lees alles na <↑een> tesamenhang, soo as die a ka geskied aster malkander, en a ka skriev op en ben over geleveert na ons.

En dan volg Die Geskiedenis van die Apostel sender en sender Briefen, die sender a ka skriev na die Gemeenten, en gloovig Volk sender; die noe ookal ben voor ons tot Leering en onderwies.

En soo mi a ka skriev die af na die Creol Taal, soo as mi a ka leer die van die Creol sender, met die mi a ka hab Omgang na die Veertig Jaar, mi ben hier.

En mi a ka volg die Text na die heilig Skrift, soo as mi a ka hab die na voor mi.

En maski mi no ka treff die na all[-a]maal Woorden, soo heel acurad na die Oversett na die Creol Taal, doch die no ben soo, dat een, die ben Creol geboor, no sal kan leer vor ver staan die Woorden, die no ben em soo fraai bekend nochal. Doch die tesamenhang van die praat, gie ook die ver stand van soo enkel Woorden, die mi ka neem ut die Hollands, of Hogh dutchs Taal, per exempel: onberispelik; dat ben, as volk wandel soo rechtveerdig, dat die no hab vor gie ver\wiet na sender, of vor vind vout na sender Wandel.

En sommig ander Woorden meer: as verdrukking, dat ben: Vervolging, Leiden en swaar Goed, die kan kom over Volk. En [-a] waar mi ka sett twee Woorden boven malkander nabin soo een Klamp: (draag|breng) goeie|goeie Vruchten. Soo ben vor neem of lees maar die een. En mi a will ook gern gie na die Creol-Taal, sommige Woorden meer, die ons hab na an der Taal, en die mankeer na die Creol Taal, en apart, na die sett over van die heilig Skrift, welk hab die Naam: Die Bibel, die Oude en NiEuwe Testament. || Soo mi a dink, die sal doch wees goet, dat elk een, die hab een {sing|gesangk}boek, en kan lees, en wie will leer die ook noch al, en hab bequaamheit tot die; dat em krieg ook een Nieuw Testament Boek tot die. || Want na Christen Gemeenten die ben behoorlik, vor hab die Woord van Godt onder sender; soo as ook die Apostel Paulus a skriev na die Gemeent na Colssen: Lat staan die Woord van Christus woon rieklik onder jender, na allwiesheit. (Dat ben: maak moeschi en goeie gebrük van die.) soo as jender sal vind die verder na si Brief.

En maski die hab vor vind vout na mi oversett en skriev manier hier en daar, mi ook no gie die ut voor soo volkom en nett, as die sal kan wees van een gelee<↑r>de Skriever, en vollkom Baas van die Creol Taal. Soo mi dink, dat voordaarom mi arbeit doch no ben vergooilik geheel, die Hooftsake, doch no ben miss. En na wie die Heilig Geest a ka op en si Hert, die sal ook door <↑si> Gnade, kan leer vor ver staen [-n] die na recht manier. || En mi dink: die ben doch beeter, vor krieg die soo as die ben, as dat jender no sal krieg die. En die Lieve Heiland lee si Seegen op die gebruk van die.'

20.ch5.3 Metalinguistic comments J.M. Magens 1781

Preface:

'(...) Die Missioneers ha leer die Creol Tael tit aster tit, en ha begin nu for onderwies na die volgens die Order van Collegium. Dat ha hab deese gesegend Werking, dat die Negers die tevoorn ha how die Leering voor een hard Woord, door die Swaerigheid van die vreemd Tael, na die sellie ha mut ontfang Onderwiesing, ha vind soo veel meer Smaek na die nu, als sellie ha kan vat en verstaen die voorgehowen Leer meer ligt en meer gaw in sender eigen Muder Tael.

Soodaenig een meer groot Getal ha kom begeerig nae die Melk van Evangelium, en ha suek Onderwiesing meer gewillik, en ha ontfang die Woord mit meer groot Lyst. En soolang nu veele van die Negers ha wordt gevonden for wees gehoorsam na die Gloof, soo die Proselyten ha wordt getroken van die deen Gemeinten voor die wille van die Onderskejing van die Tael, en ordentlig Neger Gemeinten ha wordt opgerigt, voor die een eigen Missions Dominie nu staen, en bestelte Missions Catecheten, die verrigt die opentlig Godtes Dienst mit Sang, Predik, Catechisation en Onderwiesing

in die Skolen, en ander Ministerial Verrigtingen ookal na die Creol Tael alleen, die die Negers hoor en verstaen algemeen.

al Onderwiesing ha geskiedt mondlík na eenig Tid van Mankement van Help-Midlen, en van al, wat ha kan ondersteen die Gedagtenis van die Negers; daerom Collegium ha maek Anstalten for besorg die Mission mit Creolse Buken.

Die Begin ka maek mit een A.B. Buk, en die klein Catechismus van Lutherus, en eenig Kirk-Psalmen ookal, die ha wordt gedrykt hiesoo in die Jaer 1770 en ha wordt gestiert daerover.

Asteran ons ha begin for denk op na een Oversetting van die Nywe Nestament, welk Heer Stadhoofdman Jochum Melchior Magens, en Creol van St. Thomas, die ka studeer bie die Copenhavensche Unversitet, ha neem op hem, op die Versuek van Collegium. Deese gueje Man, die tevoorn ha ka skriev van sie eigen gueje Wil een Creols Grammatica tot Dienst voor die Missions Bedienten, die ookal ha wordt gedrykt in die Jaer 1770, en byttendien ha lastaen skriev door een van die Missions Catecheten, die hem na deese Oogmerk ha giev Plaes na sie Hus, een Woord-Buk, die bin volstandig genug, maer leg ongedrykt nogal, hem ka maek sie hoogverdient door die van die Missions Werk. En soolang hem ka neem op hem soo veele wigtig Werken, sonder for krieg die geringste Belooning van die tee deese Dag, soo ons onderv for hoop, dat hem sal verdien die Opdenking van sender, die kan beoordeel en beloon waerdige Bemujingen, soo veel meer, als die Mission kan verwaek door sie prieselig Beesigheid for kik van sie Hand een Oversetting nogal van die Oud Testament, van welk die Psalmen van David bin klaer alreets, en ons kan verwaek die Prophetis Buken aster een kort Tid.' (Collegium die 1 Mart 178*1*, L. Harboe. E.J. Jessen-S. J. Hvid. A.P. Bartholin)

Aan de Leeser

'Maskee Autor van die Creols Grammatica ka giev een Waerskowing aster die Samenspraek tyssen een Catecheet en een Heiden en ka wies daer dat die bin noodsaeklig na geestlige Saeken for volg die hollands Spraek als die regte Oorsprong van die Creolse, soo mie bin verpligt for giev een Waerskowing ookal dat mie ka volg die selve Regel na deese Oversetting van die Nywe Testament. Mie ka volg die Creolse Spreek Manier overal maer mie no ha wil gebryk die gemeene Woorden en Spreken, voordiemaek die no pas na een geestlig Materie; en mie selv ka hoor dat soowel die Blanko als die Negers ha wees gestoort en ha erger sender over for hoor van die een, of van die ander na eenig Predikasje of geestlig Discours, dat sellie ha gebryk sylke gemeene Woorden, die sellie dog gebryk in daglig Omgang.'

20.ch5.4 Metalinguistic comments in Visitationsbericht 1784

Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut, R. 15. B.a. No 24

[57]

'Neu-Herrnhut d 30tn April 1784

Praess. br. Joh, Loretz, J.M, Mack J. Chr. Auerbach und C.G. Reichelt.

In der Materie von der Heil. Taufe wurde weiter fortgefahren, und sich darüber folgender *m*assen enkläret:

Die Leser von der Heil-Taufe nehmen wir aus der Heiligen Schrift, die unser einiger Erleutnis-Grund ist <ol.und> bleibt. Nächst dem finden wir dieselbe in dem kleinem Lese-Büchlein zum Unterricht der Jugend in der Gemeinde, und besonderes in der Idea Fidei Fratrum kurz, deutlich und bestimmt. zusammen gefasst.

Da nun so viel drauf ankommt, dass der Unterricht den manden Täuflingen dvon zugeben hat, deutlich und gründlich seije; so können die Brüder, die diesen Unterricht besorgen, sich nebst der Bibel keiner bessern Hilfs-Mittel dazu bedienen, als wenn sie sich die Materie, so sie abhandlen wollen, in besagten beijden Schriften nach ihrem Inhalt und Ausdrücke recht bekannt machen.

Ihr Vortrag wird alsdann der Leser das Evangelii gewiss gemäss seijn und *f*rüch*t*e bringen. Wir hoffen denemselben auch durch die Übersetzung des Lehr-Buchleins ins creolische hierinnen bald zu hülfe kommen zu können.

[58]

(...)

[61]

(...)

Man kann *nun*mehr*o* auf den grossen Mangel an Schriften, die in die Creolische Sprache übersetzt und brauchbar waren.

Es ist in der That gar sehr zu bedauern, dass die Creolische Sprache noch immer äusserst arm und kindisch und unausgebildet ist. In diesem Mangel lieget die Ursache und der Grund, dass man in der Lehre und dem Unterricht in so manchen Gottes Wahrheiten so sehr zurucke bleibt und der Gebrauch so wie das Lesen der Heil. Schrift beij unsern Neger-Gemeinen nicht hat eingeführt und nach Wusch befördert werden können. Das einzige zum Vorlezen noch brauchbare Stück aus der Bibel ist die von Br. Auerbach [62] übersetzte Leidens-Geschrifte dazu aus der Harmonie der 4. Evangelisten. Unser ;. Br. Böhner hat sich zwar veile Mühe gegeben, so wol das neun als alte Testament zu übersetzen; Allei*j*ne Seine Übersetzungen erfordern in der That eine ganze Umarbeitung, ehe sie gebraucht werden können. Eben dieses ist der fall mit dem, voneinem gewissen Magens ins Creolische übersetzen und in Copenhagen gedruckten neuen Testamente. Daher komt es auch, das sich unsere Brüder genöthiget finden, die Texte und Evangelia, darüber sie in der Gemeinde reden wollen, selbst zu übersetzen. Welches zuweilen eine unangenehme Verschiedenheit, wo nicht un Sinne, doch im Ausdruck, veranlasset.

Wir haben daher wol mit allem m"glichen Ernst darauf bedacht zu seijn, dass diesem wesentlichen Mangel balde abgeholfen werde, und man vereinigte sich, dass zu dem Ende erst folgende Stücke übersezt und zum Druck befördert werden möchten. Und da Br. Auerbach dermalen ohne Zweifel die mehreste Kentnis in der Creolischen Sprache besitzt, so beschloss man demselben die übersetzung dieser Stücke aufzutragen, wozu er sich auch willig finden liesse.

Br. Auerbach

[63]

Br. Auerbach wird demnach erstl. die Sontäglichen Evangelia und zum Theil auch die Epistelen ins Creolische übersetzen; deren sich die Brüder auf allen Posten, die darüber Vorträge halten, zu bedienen haben. Wobeij ferner auch gewünscht wurde, dass mit der Zeit die Übersetzung der Loosungen end Texte ebenfalls statt finden möge. Welches den Brüdern der Helfer-Conferenz empfohlen wird.

Um denen Brüdern, so den Lehr-Unterricht der Tauf- und Abend Mahls-Candidaten besorgen, und auch den Negern selbst, die da lesen können, insonderheit unserne Helfer-Brüdern zu hülfe zu kommen wurde ferner re*f/h/s*olvirt das Lehr-Büchlein der Gemeine Haupt *J*u*f*al*t* der Lehre Jesu p aufs baldeste zu übersetsen.

Und endlich wurde ebenfalls beschlossen, die ganze Harmonie der 4 Evangelisten so balde es seijn kan ins Creolische zu übersetzen, dass sie zum druck befördert werden könne. So balde solches geschehen, so werden die Brüder der Helfer-Conferenz die Einrichtung treffen, dass diese Harmonie oder Lebens-Geschichte Jesu in den Gemeinen öffentlich vorgelesen werde, welches immer an den so genannten stillen Sontagen statt einer andern Viertelstunde geschehen kan. Man sucht die Lection et*c*ra so ein zutheilen, dass man *mit* der Lebens-Geschichte des Heilandes fertig [64] werde bis zum Anfang der Marter-Woche, in welchen wie bisher die Leidens-Geschichte gelesen wird. Darauf folget so dann die Geschichte die Auferstehung, der 40 Tage und der Himmelfahrt in ihrer Ordnung; vornach die Lebens-Geschichte wieder von forner angefangen wird. Br. Auerbach übernahm auch diese Arbeit, und wers*t* nach sein möglichtes zuthun, sie balde zu liefern.

(...)

Sämtliche anwesende Brüder bezeugten hierauf: dass sie hierinne gerne [65] gerne thun wolten was sie könnten, und dass die Helfer-Conferen zins Ganze sich solches insonderheit werde angelegen seijn lassen. Manchem Bruder, der der Creolischen Sprache mächtig ist, wird es nicht schwer fallen zu reden auch etwas so gleich ins Creolische zu übersetzen, und der Gemeine mit zu theilen.‘

20.ch5.5 Metalinguistic comments from 5.5.1

A. Oldendorp

Original text: 'Aus der Übersetzung der Lieder ins Criolische war nich viel geworden. Man bediente sich der ins Holländische übersetzte Gesänge. Israel gefiel es nicht, weil er wohl sahe, daß die Schwarzen weing davon verstanden, indessen hatten sie keine anderen; ihr Gebrauch war auch einmal eingeführt und, sie recht criolisch zu machen, nicht leicht; wie dann die nachherige Versuche mehrenteils so gerieten, daß sie wegen ihrer unnatürlichen Sprachenmengung noch weniger verständlich waren als jene. Den Weg zur Seligkeit zu verkündigen, dazu ist die criolische Sprache hinlänglich und bequem genug, aber sehr arm an Wörtern, um etwas, sonderlich Lieder, in dieselbe zu überstzen – welches also viele Swierigkeit hat und einde besondere Geschicklichkeit erfordert.' (2002: 588-589[527])

B.

‘Endlich senden wir doch einmal das Creol-Psalm-Boek, welches freil. desswegen so lange zurücke gehalten worden, weile wir solches gemme erst einem jeden Brüdern der nicht allein mit der *Sp*rache überhaupt sondern auch mit der besondern Terminis der Neger durch offeres *S*prechen derselben aus Erfahrung bestant werden, zum durch, sehen geben, und Seine Gedanken und Bemerkungen darüber vernehmen wollten, damit nicht nachheren wenn das Buch ohne genugsame

Communication gedruckt würde noch Einer oder der Andere /: vielleicht mit Recht ud. aus gegründeten Ursachen:/ Seine Einwendungen zu machen, und wegen durch gaugigen Gebraucht desselben Zustand zu nehmen, genöthigt seyn möchte. Denn das ist gewis*s*, das manchmal eine Redes-Art vorn kommen kann welche zwar an ud. für sich gute Creol Worte hat, wenn aber doch die Neger selbige in einem ändern vielleicht gar schlechten Sinn gefasst ud. sie ihrem Gemuth von langer Zeit her imprimirt haben so ist es besser, solche in dem fall lieber nicht zu gebrauchen.‘ (Böhner (a.o.) St. Croix, May 11, 1773: 1)

C.

‘Z.B. im deutschen heisst es: Mein Herze brennt . Wir haben aber aus Erfahrung, dass wenn man in ihrer Sprache sagt: Mi Hert le brann so verstehen die mehresten es so als ob das Herz im Zorn aufgebracht ware, wann man denn auch dabey sagt: “na Liebe,” so werden sie als ein dummes Volk un*.* noch mehr confus, und wissen es gar nicht zusammen zubringen.‘ (Böhner (a.o.) St. Croix, May 11, 1773: 1)

D.

‘So ist auch das Wort: Prajeer in schlechtem Credit bey ihren und man müsste jedesmal, wenn es vorkome, ein lange Erklärung beyfügen *weiln* doch immer welche zugegen seyn *werden* die es noch nicht gehört; denn sie sagen: Em ben Prajeer-Volk und meynen damit einer stoltzen au*f*geblasenen Menschen und das sitzt tief in ihrem Gemuth so dass schon *et*liche über den Büch druck im erst gedruckten kleinen Büchlein No 13, no 23. “En nabovo prajeer mee Kleed”, angestanden u. gefragt haben: Wagoed die ben? Ons sal prajeer met die? dengln *Au*sserungen hörten wir auch über No 6, v. 11. Stroph. 4. Und, wir haben bemerckt dass alle Erklärungen die einmal gefasste Idee nicht ganz vertilgen können.‘ (Böhner (a.o.) St. Croix, May 11, 1773: 1)

E.

‘Das Wort: Mankement wird bey den Negern insgemein nur vom aussern Mangel an Nahrung. Kleidern, . . verstanden, welches wir bey Herzens, Unterredungen schon öfters wahrgenommen haben; und derg*zen* Worte sind noch viele, die nicht alle auf einmal angeführt werden können.‘ (Böhner (a.o.) St. Croix, May 11, 1773: 2)

F.

‘In Br: Oldendorps Uebersetzung, welche wir vor uns gehabt sind schöne und kräftige Ausdrucken die wir, so viel *wi*e möglich beybehalten und uns darnach gerichtet haben, aber freil. fanden wir auch nöthig, hie und da Veränderungen zu machen. Wäre unser lieber Br: Oldendorp hier geblieben so ist gar kein Zweifel dass er *itzt* selbst mit uns gleicher Meynung seyn, und durch längern Umgang mit dem Volke einsehen würde, dass auch den verständigsten unter ihnen doch manches in den Liedern zu tief ist zumal, wenn öfters was in Parenthesi vorkommt , obschon solches für uns die wir mit un*d*ern deutschen Versen bekannt sind, und wissen was es seyn soll Liebl. und angenehm war.‘ (Böhner (a.o.) St. Croix, May 11, 1773: 2)

G.

‘Geliebten brüder indem Herrn, die Unitaets Älf*e*n Conferenz, weil es nun an dem ist dass unser Creol gesang büchlein fort geschutzt werden soll, so habe es mit einem briefgen an die geliebten brüder begeleiten wollen, ich habe doch schon lange nicht an Euch geschrieben, hoffe es wird euch lieben brüder nicht un angenehm seyn, auch wieder ein mal etwas von meiner Hand zu lesen. ich bin recht froh dass wir doch ein mal mit dem Psalm – Boeki fertig geworden, das es die Approbation der brüder erlangt hat, es hat wol etwas lange gedauert, aus ursach, weil wir nicht bey sammen seyn konten die wir zu der arbeit bey sammen seyn solten. Eine grosse Freude wird es bey unsern schwar zen Geschwester *v*er ursachen oder er regen wenn es ein mal gedruckt wird zu haben seyn, sonderlich bey denen die ein bissgen lesen können. ich habe auch eine 4 fache Copi d*a von* geschrieben weil ich darum ersucht geworden, eine nach Friedensthal dem br. Martin⁷, eine für Bethania auf St. Jann, eine dem br. Kremser, und eine zu meinem gebrauch, und bin froh dass ich auch nun damit fertig bin, und br. Auerbach hat sich auch eine zum gebrauch auf Niesky⁸ behalten.’

(Böhner June 15, 1773)

H.

‘(...) die bibel ist mir ein he*i*lig und unschazbares Buch, und ich habe mein *v*er gnügen im übersezen dar aus ins Criolische, habe auch das Neue testament in mehr als ein Exemplar gebracht, die 4 Evangelisten in Harmonie, die Apost ge[schichte]. und sow[weiter]. das 1 buch Mose, die Psalmen aus dem Proph Jesaia, (...)’ (Böhner June 15, 1773)

I.

‘(he translated the text, however... CvR) nicht wort vor wort, sondern was für unser Neger Volk für gut, nützlich u. nöthig zu hören e*.* achte, weil sie die Hl. schrift nicht haben und auch nicht lesen könn, und sie uns*er*n Gott <ol.doch> ein ge geben ist,’ (p. 6/7)

J.

‘ich habe auch schon über 20 Jahr einen trieb bekommen, aus das H. Schrift in die Neger sprache zu über sezen, da ich denn auch einen anfang gemacht,’ (Böhner, January 21, 1780)

K.

‘und habe das Neue Testament mehr als einmal übersezt. die 4 Evangelisten nach der Harmonie wie sie von dem Sel. Br. Lieberkin gegeben ist; u. die Geschichte u briefe der Apost⁹, auch einen guten theil aus dem alten Testament;¹⁰ aus den

⁷ Br. Martin is Martin Mack, and not Friedrich Martin, who passed away in 1750.

⁸ The Niesky estate is about 1.5 miles west of Charlotte Amalie.

⁹ Like in the letter of June 15, 1773, however the German source text of Lieberkühn is mentioned.

büchern Mose, Josua, Richtern, Hiob, Ruth. Aus den Psalmen David.¹¹ aus den 4 grossen u. 12 kleinen Prophten.‘ (Böhner, January 21, 1780)

L.

‘auch dar ich die Idea Fidei Fratrum über setzt habe, darin*n* wol etwas übergangen habe was bey den neger Volck nicht dahin zu bringen ist, weil sie nicht ihr eigen s*ind*. Übrigens war mir alles so wichtig und zusammen hangent das ich nicht über gehen konte, ich habe sie auch ein gebunden, und das Buch ist gewiß wehrt daß man auch in der neger Gemeine gebrauch davon machte.‘ (Johann Böhner to Joseph Spangenberg , 2 August 1781, Neu Herrnhut (St. Thomas), p.1)

M.

‘Die Creol Sprache ist wol eine leicht Sprach, sie will aber doch gelernt seyn, und wer aus andern Sprache in sie überstzen will der muß si erst inne haben sonst kann er viel Wörter *....*ch übersezen, da ist es gut wenn sich jemand der sie noch nicht kan oder das nicht ganz inne hat u. doch da mit lehr*..* und reden soll sich hübsch in über setzte schrift*en* übt sie gut geläufig lesen und recht a*u*sprechen lernt, das kan einem Br. auch einer schwester beferderlich seyn in der Sprache.‘ (Johann Böhner to Joseph Spangenberg , 2 August 1781, Neu Herrnhut (St. Thomas), p.1)

N.

‘So hat ein hiesiger Herrn, der ein geborner St. Thomas¹² Creol ist, ist aber in grose Armuth geraten| das neue Testament in die Creol Sprache übersetzt, welches in Kopenhagen im ersten 4tel Jahr 1781 gedruck worden, und Br. Martin M[ack]. hat eind exemplar mitbegracht, welches der Hr General Schimmelmann ihm gelehnt! Er ist aber nicht gut gerahten, es ist zu viel nach Dänischer Sprache, und sonst sehr unvoll komme*n* und unserren helfer Br. Cornelius gefällt es auch gar nicht, und er wünscht daß von uns zum wenigsten das Neun Testament in ihre Sprache möchte gedruckt werden, weil ihnen meine übersezung deutlich u. ihrer Mund Art zu reden an gemessen ist,‘ (Johann Böhner to Joseph Spangenberg , 2 August 1781, Neu Herrnhut (St. Thomas), p.2)

O.

‘ich habe also gedacht u. deine das neue Testamt noch einmal ab zu copiren, die 4 Evangeiten nach der Harmonie wie ich bis her gethan, und der Apostel geschicht u. briefe und was darin zu ver bessern finde, zu verbessern, weil ich doch die beste zeit da zu habe, und wenn es denn der andere*.* Brr. die auch schon lange hier sind ihre Aprobation habe, so kann es in druck gehen, und so habe mit Br. Martin darüber

¹⁰ In the letter of June 15, 1773, he only mentions the first book of Moses. I suppose all other parts were translated between 1773 and the beginning of 1780.

¹¹ Also already mentioned in the letter of June 15, 1773.

¹² Magens was actually born on St. John in 1715, and moved back to St. John after 1754. He left the Danish Antilles in 1783 and passed away in the same year (Eyster Jacobs & Haas 1899: 300-301). Although a native of the Danish Antilles, in the end he had lived in this community for about as long as Johann Böhner did.

geredet. das ist wol eine hauptsache zu denken, was der sinn ist der worte, die man in eine ander sprache über sezen will, dar man auch der sprache in die man über sezt, worte sucht, die eben das, und nicht mehr und nicht weniger besagen.' (Johann Böhner to Joseph Spangenberg , 2 August 1781, Neu Herrnhut (St. Thomas), p.2)

P.

'Die Leser von der Heil-Taufe nehmen wir aus der Heiligen Schrift, die unser einiger Erleutnis-Grund ist <ol.und> bleibet. Nächst dem finden wir dieselbe in dem kleinem Lese-Büchlein zum Unterricht der Jugend in der Gemeine, und besonderes in der Idea Fidei Fratrum kurz, deutlich und bestimmmt. zusammen gefasst. Da nun so viel drauf ankomt, dass der Unterricht den manden Täuflingen dvon zugeben hat, deutlich und gründlich seije; so können die Brüder, die diesen Unterricht besorgen, sich nebst der Bibel keiner bessern Hülf's-Mittel dazu bedienen, als wenn sie sich die Materie, so sie abhandlen wollen, in besagten bejden Schriften nach ihrem Inhalt und Ausdrücke recht bekannt machen. Ihr Vortrag wird alsdann der Leser das Evangelii gewiss gemäss seijn und *f*rüch*t*e bringen. Wir hoffen denemselben auch durch die Übersetzung des Lehr-Buchleins ins creolische hierinnen bald zu hülfe kommen zu können.' (*Visitationsbericht* 1784: 57)

Q.

'Man kann *nun*mehr*o* auf den grossen Mangel an Schriften, die in die Creolische Sprache übersetzt und brauchbar waren. Es ist in der That gar sehr zu bedauern, dass die Creolische Sprache noch immer äusserst arm und kindisch und unausgebildet ist. In diesem Mangel lieget die Ursache und der Grund, dass man in der Lehre und dem Unterricht in so manchen Gottes Wahrheiten so sehr zurucke bleibet und der Gebrauch so wie das Lesen der Heil. Schrift bej unsern Neger-Gemeinen nicht hat eingeführt und nach Wusch befördert werden können. Das einzige zum Vorlezen noch brauchbare Stück aus der Bibel ist die von Br. Auerbach übersetzte Leidens-Geschäfte dazu aus der Harmonie der 4. Evangelisten. Unser ;. Br. Böhner hat sich zwar veile Mühe gegeben, so wol das neun als alte Testament zu übersetzen; Allei*j*ne Seine Übersetzungen erfordern in der That eine ganze Umarbeitung, ehe sie gebraucht werden können. Eben dieses ist der fall mit dem, voneinem gewissen Magens ins Creolische übersetzen und in Copenhagen gedruckten neuen Testamente. Daher komt es auch, das sich unsere Brüder genöthiget finden, die Texte und Evangelia, darüber sie in der Gemeine reden wollen, selbst zu übersetzen. Welches zuweilen eine unangenehme Verschiedenheit, wo nicht un Sinne, doch im Ausdruck, veranlasset.' (*Visitationsbericht* 1784: 61-62)

R.

'Wir haben daher wol mit allem möglichen Ernst darauf bedacht zu seijn, dass diesem wesentlichen Mangel balde abgeholfen werde, und man vereinigte sich, dass zu dem Ende erst folgende Stücke übersezt und zum Druck befördert werden möchten. Und da Br. Auerbach dermalen ohne Zweifel die mehreste Kentnis in der Creolischen Sprache besitzt, so beschloss man demselben die übersetzung dieser

Stücke aufzutragen, wozu er sich auch willig finden liesse.’ (*Visitationsbericht* 1784: 62)

S.

‘Br. Auerbach wird demnach erstl. die Sontäglichen Evangelia und zum Theil auch die Epistelen ins Creolische übersetzen; deren sich die Brüder auf allen Posten, die darüber Vorträge halten, zu bedienen haben. Wobeij ferner auch gewünscht wurde, dass mit der Zeit die Übersetzung der Loosungen end Texte ebenfalls statt finden möge. Welches den Brüdern der Helfer-Conferenz empfohlen wird. Um denen Brüdern, so den Lehr-Unterricht der Tauf- und Abend-Mahls-Candidaten besorgen, und auch den Negeren selbst, die da lesen können, insonderheit unserne Helfer-Brüdern zu hülfe zu kommen wurde ferner re*f/h/s*olvirt das Lehr-Büchlein der Gemeine Haupt *J*u*f*al*t* der Lehre Jesu p aufs baldeste zu übersetzen. Und endlich wurde ebenfalls beschlossen, die ganze Harmonie der 4 Evangelisten so balde es seijn kan ins Creolische zu übersetzen, dass sie zum druck befördert werden könne. So balde solches geschehen, so werden die Brüder der Helfer-Conferenz die Einrichtung treffen, dass diese Harmonie oder Lebens-Geschichte Jesu in den Gemeinen öffentlich vorgelesen werde, welches immer an den so genannten stillen Sontagen statt einer andern Viertelstunde geschehen kan. Man sucht die Lection et*c*ra so ein zutheilen, dass man *mit* der Lebens-Geschichte des Heilandes fertig werde bis zum Anfang der Marter-Woche, in welchen wie bisher die Leidens-Geschichte gelesen wird. Darauf folget so dann die Geschichte die Auferstehung, der 40 Tage und der Himmelfahrt in ihrer Ordnung; vornach die Lebens-Geschichte wieder von forner angefangen wird. Br. Auerbach übernahm auch diese Arbeit, und wers*t* nach sein möglichtes zuthun, sie balde zu liefern.’ (*Visitationsbericht* 1784: 64)

20.ch8 Appendices chapter 8: *Vertical presentation of alternatives*

20.ch8.1 *Distribution of vertical presentations*

In this appendix you will find a chronological list of the texts and the number vertical presentations of synonyms and alternative constructions per Clarin-NEHOL text.¹³

¹³ The large translations of the Moravian Brethren which are not yet digitalized, are 324 (The New Testament Epistles, 259 p.) and 326 (Idea Fidei Fratrum, 650 p.) and were manually studied. Text 324, including digital available 324op, contains 117 vertical presentations. Text 326, including digitalized fragment, contains 146 items. Only occurrences of prepositions are included in the figures in this chapter. Oldendorp’s dictionary (Stein & Van der Voort 1996) contains 99 occurrences of vertical presentations.

<i>Clarín-NEHOL</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Appearances</i>
Herrn65	<i>Gebeden en Liederen</i>	71 p.,	1765	13
3317	<i>Memorabilia</i>	8 p.	1767	1
-	<i>Criolisches Wörterbuch,</i>	189 p.	1767/68	99
326 ¹⁴	<i>Idea Fidei Fratrum</i>	650 p.	1779	2
321	<i>Gospel Harmony</i>	406 p.	Before 1780 (possibly 1773)	
321a				24
321b				27
321c				33
321d	From p.297 on: <i>Acts</i>			23
321e	<i>Acts</i>			23
322	<i>Gospel Harmony</i>	532 p.	About 1780/1782	
322a1				29
322a2				21
322b				15
322c				12
322d	From p.419 on: <i>Acts</i>			16
322e	<i>Acts</i>			8
324op	<i>The letters of the apostles, Revelation</i>	24 p.	n.d.	15
325	<i>Old Testament</i>	1038 p.	About 1780	
325a				35
325b				31
325c				24
325d				48
325e				25
325f				9
336	<i>Entwurf (...) Eheleute</i>	6 p.	1783/84	2
3231	<i>Gospel Harmony, incomplete</i>	107 p.	Before 1792 ¹⁵	2
3232a	<i>Gospel Harmony, incomplete</i>	97 p.	End eighteenth century, about 1795	1
3315a	<i>Four Creole Sermons</i>	46 p.	1796	1
3313	<i>Genesis</i>	32 p.	n.d., but probably 1797	4

20.ch8.2: All preposition alternatives, including *na*

In this section all vertical presentations in which the preposition *na* is one of alternative prepositions are presented. If available, a Virgin Islands Dutch Creole variant accompanies the original. These examples are coded by their manuscript

¹⁴ Currently only a short example is digitalized .

¹⁵ See Van Rossem (2014, April 25).

code as used in the Clarin-NEHOL database. Note that 315 represents Mogens' New Testament which is of Danish/Lutheran tradition and not of the Moravian Brethren. The Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts are in chronological order: 321 (about 1773), 322 (about 1780/1782), 315 (1781), 3231 (before 1792), 3232 (1790/1795), 318 (1802) and 3110 (1833).

G. marks the German source text. I used Lieberkühn (1820) for the sentences and word groups from the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Gospel Harmonies. Sentences and word groups from the Acts or from the Old Testament are from the online version of Luther (1545).

E. marks comparable English texts. In the case of the Gospel Harmony, Lieberkühn (1771) is used. For the Acts or the Old Testament, I used the online version of King James Bible.

DS. marks the seventeenth century Dutch Authorized Version ('Statenvertaling') of the bible. When the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole construction differed from the DS equivalent, I added my own translation, marked D.

1. *Van* and *na* as alternatives

The Dutch preposition *van* has a possessive meaning 'of'.

1.1 Possessive constructions

- 321c: een **van|na** die Skriftgeleerde
 322: En een onder sender <ol.*ee.*> Wetgeleerde
 315: En een van sender, een Skriftgeleerd,
 318: En een van sender, een Skriftgeleerde
 3110: En een van sender, een Skriftgeleerde
 G. einer unter ihnen, ein Schriftgelehrter
 E. one of them, which was a lawyer
 DS. een uit hen, zijnde een wetgeleerde
 D. een **van** de schriftgeleerden
- 325a: Birsa, die Konig (**na|van**) Gomorra
 G. Birsa, dem König **von** Gomorrha
 E. King Birsha **of** Gomorrah
 DS. Birsa, koning **van** Gomorra
- 325d.1: Loop hen en vergaader die Oudsten sender **van|na** Israel
 G. Darum geh hin und versammle die Ältesten **von** Israel
 E. Go and assemble the elders **of** Israel
 DS. Ga heen, en verzamel de oudsten **van** Israël
- 325d.2: En na aan alle Godten **van|na** Egypten mi sal doe Straf executie
 G. und will Strafgericht halten über alle Götter **der** Ägypter
 E. on all the gods **of** Egypt I will execute judgements
 DS. Ik zal gerichten oefenen aan al de goden **der** Egyptenaren
 D. alle goden **van** Egypte.

- 325e.1: Em no a weet, dat die Fell **na|van** } si Angesicht a ka kom blinkend,
 G. und wusste nicht, dass die Haut **seines** Angesichts glänzte,
 E. Moses did not know that the skin **of** his face shone
 DS. zo wist Mozes niet, dat het vel **zijns** aangezichts glinsterde
 D. het vel **van** zijn aangezicht
- 325e.2: Die Brandofer sall bli*ev* op die Fijerheerd **na|van** } die Altar die
 geheele Nac*ht..* vroe
 G. Das Brandopfer soll bleiben auf dem Herd **des** Altars die ganze Nacht
 E. The burnt-offering itself shall remain on the hearth **upon** the altar all
 night
 DS. het vuur **des** altaars zal brandende gehouden worden.
 D. de haard **van** het altaar
- 325e.3: En joe sall maak een Laaken na die ingang {**na|van** die Tente.
 G. Und du sollst eine Decke machen für den Eingang **des** Zelt
 E. You shall make a screen for the entrance **of** the tent
 DS. Gij zult ook aan de deur **der** tent een deksel maken
 D. de ingang **van** de tent

1.2 Other constructions with *van* and *na*

- 322a1: Salig ben, die ben aerm {**na|van**} Geest
 321: Salig ben, die sender ben aerm **na** Geest
 315: Salig ben die Geestlig Povers,
 3231: Salig ben diejeen, welk ben aerm **na** Geest
 3232: Salig ben diejeen, die äerm **in** Geest,
 318: Salig sender ben, die ben aerm **in** Geest
 3110: Salig ben diejeen, die ben aerm **in** Geest
 G. Selig sind, die da geistlich arm sind
 E. Blessed are the poor **in** spirit
 DS. Zalig zijn de armen **van** geest.
- 322b: dink jender, dat die ben skoon (**na|van**) binnen, as die ben skoon van
 buten?¹⁶
 321: dink jender, dat die ben skoon **na** binen, as die ben skoon van buten?
 315: jellie dink dat die bin skoon **na** binne, als die van byttie bin skoon?
 318: jender dink dan, dat die ben skoon **van** binnen, as die ben skoon van
 butten?
 3110: jender dink dan, dat die ben skoon **van** binnen, as die ben skoon van
 butten!
 G. meynet ihr, dass inwendig reyn sey, wenns auswendig reyn ist?
 E. and DS. Construction differs.

¹⁶ Note the use of *van* in the second half of the sentence.

D. denken jullie, dat die schoon **van** binnen is, als die schoon van buiten is? (WNT, s.v. VAN, 52.)

- 325e.4 sender a skien na voor ut **van|na** die Candelaar
 G. dass sie **von** dem Leuchter nach vorwärts schienen,
 E. to give light in front of the lampstand
 DS. tegenover vooraan den kandelaar stak hij deszelfs lampen aan

2. *Op* and *na* as alternatives

CW¹⁷.1: Ich empfehle mich denk {**na|op**} mi

D. Denk **aan** mij ‘think about me’

Dink op ‘think about’ becomes the most frequent collocation¹⁸

CW.2: Vertrauen. Gott – betrouw {**na|op**} God

D. Betrouw **op** God ‘trust in God’, Vertrouw **op** God ‘trust God’¹⁹

CW.3: Gleicherweise {**na|op**} glik Manier

D. **op** gelijke manier, **op** dezelfde manier ‘the same way’

CW.4: Seine Zuversicht auf Gott setzen betrouw {**na|op**} God

See CW.2.

321b: en no a ka kom tot sender (**na|op** die Bood.)

322: **nabin** die Bood

3110: (**op** die Skip)

G. (**auf** das Schiff)

E. <bm.**on board** the ship>

D. **op** de boot.

321d: Kik /**op|na**/ ons.

322: Kik **na** ons

315: Kik **na** ons

318: Kik **na** ons

G. Sieh uns **an**!

E. Look **on** us²⁰

DS. Zie **op** ons

D. kijk **naar** ons/kijk ons **aan**.

¹⁷ *Criolisches Wörterbuch* (Stein & Van der Voort 1996)

¹⁸ *Criolisches Wörterbuch*, Oldendorp 1768: G. Denkmal NH. Denkop. De Josselin de Jong (1926: 76) *dinko* ‘to remember’.

¹⁹ De Josselin de Jong (1926: 73) *bitrou* ‘to trust’.

²⁰ *King James Bible online*, d.d. September 12, 2014. All other translations of Gospel Harmony translations Lieberkühn (1771).

- 322d: En as Paulu<ol.s> a wacht {**op|na**} sender na Athene
 321: En derwiel Paulus a wacht **na** sender na Athenen
 315: En dietit Paulus ha verwag sender na Athenen
 318: En toen Paulus a verwacht sender na Athenen
 G. DA aber Paulus jrer zu Athene wartet
 E. Now while Paul waited **for** them at Athens
 DS. En terwijl Paulus hen te Athene verwachtte
 D. En toen Paulus wachtte **op** hen in Athene
- 325c: mi Tegenparteyder fonk met s*i* Oogo {**na|op**} mi
 G. mein Widersacher fünckelt mit seinen augen **auff** mich.
 E. mine enemy sharpeneth his eyes **upon** me.
 DS. mijn wederpartijder scherpt zijn ogen **tegen** mij.

3. *Tot and na* as alternatives

3.1 Verb and preposition collocations: *see* and *spreek*

- 321a: Die Wief a see **na|tot** Em: (...),
 322: Die Wief a see **na** Em: (...)
 315: Die Vrow ha seg **na** hem: (...)
 3231: Da die Vrow a see **na** Em: (...)
 3232: Die Vrow a see **na** Em: (...)
 318: Die Vrow a see **na** Em: (...)
 3110: Die Vrow a seen **na** Em (...)
 G. Spricht das Weib **zu** Ihm: (...)
 E. The woman saith **unto** him, (...)
 DS. De vrouw zeide **tot** Hem: (...)
- 321b.1: En JESus a see {**na|tot**} em:
 322: Maar Jesus a see **na** em:
 315: Maer Jesus ha seg **na** hem:
 318: Maar Jesus a see **na** em:
 3110: Maar Jesus a see **na** em:
 G. Jesus aber sprach **zu** ihr:
 E. But Jesus answered and said **unto** her,
 DS. Doch Hij antwoordde en zeide:
- 321b.2: Da JESus a antwoord en a see {**na|tot**} em:
 322: Da Jesus a antwoord en a see **na** em:
 315: En Jesus ha seg **na** hem:
 318: En Jesus a see **na** em:
 3110: Da Jesus a antwoord en a see **na** em:

- G. Da antwortete Jesus und sprach **zu** ihr:
 E. Then Jesus answered and said **unto** her,
 DS. Toen antwoordde Jezus, en zeide **tot** haar:

- 322a2: Da Jesus a spreek {**tot|na**} die Twael sender:
 321: Da JEsus a spreek **tot** die Twaelfe sender:
 315: Soo Jesus ha seg **na** die Twaelf:
 318: Dan Jesus a see **na** die Twaalf:
 3110: Da Jesus a see **na** die Twalf:
 G. Da sprach Jesus **zu** den Zwölfen:
 E. Then said Jesus **unto** the twelve,
 DS. Jezus dan zeide **tot** de twaalfen:

- 322b: En een uit die Volk a see **na|tot** Em:
 321: En een ut die Volk a see **na** Em:
 315: En een van die Volk ha seg **na** hem:
 318: En een van die Volk a see **na** Em:
 3110: En een van die Volk a see **na** Em:
 G. Es sprach aber einer aus dem Volk **zu** Ihm:
 E. And one of the company said **unto** him,
 DS. En een uit de schare zeide **tot** Hem:

3.2 Verb and preposition collocation: *staan*

- 321b.3: Da Si Jünger a staan {**na|tot**} Em,
 322: Da si Jüngers a staan **na** Em,
 315: Soo sie Disciplen ha loop **na** hem,
 318: Da Si Jungers a staan **na** Em,
 3110: Da si Jungers a staan **na** Em,
 G. Da traten Seine Jünger **zu** Ihm,
 E. And his disciples came and besought him,
 DS. En Zijn discipelen, **tot** Hem komende,

The Dutch preposition *tot* means ‘to, unto’ and is not expected in collocation with the verb *staan* ‘to stand’.

4. Indirect object with *voor* or *na*

- CW.1: [wozu] Worzu {**voor|na**} wat *oder* wagoed
 D. Waarvoor: voor wat of wat.goed
 CW.2: zappeln. nach etwas – vekkete {**voor|na**} een Goed
 D. **voor** iets vechten

- 322a1: en wie Klopp aan, {**voor**|**na**} em die kom geoopent²¹
 321: en wie klopp aan, **na** em die (Dhor) word geopent.
 315: en **voor** hem, die klop, sal word open gemaekt.
 3231: en wie le klopp (na die Deür,) die sal krieg geopend.
 3232: en **voor** em die klop, sal word geopend.
 318: en **voor** em, die klop aan, sal word geopend.
 3110: en **voor** em, die klop, sal word geopend.
 G. klopfet an, so wird euch aufgethan.
 E. **to** him that knocketh, it shall be opened
 DS. klopt, en u zal opengedaan worden
 D. en wie aanklopt, **voor** hem zal het worden geopend.
- 325b: En soo Joseph a koop allegaar di*e* Grond {**na**|**vor**} Pharao na Egypten
 G. So kaufte Josef **dem** Pharao das ganze Ägypten.
 E. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt **for** Pharaoh;²²
 DS. Alzo kocht Jozef het gehele land van Egypte **voor** Farao

20.ch11 Appendices chapter 11 *Studying variants of texts to discover connection with audience*

20.ch11.1 *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*

The hymn *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* is well known because of its part in Bach's *Mattheus Passion* and since it is used in several Christian traditions, it is wide spread and easy to use for comparison. In our corpus we have collected five versions.

- a. Isles, Samy & Georg Weber. *Criol Leedekin Boekje voor gebriek Van de Neger broer gemeente Na St Thomas St Crux Overzet iut de Hoog deutse taal door Broer Samy Isles en George Weber, en een deel mee Assistentie Broer Johaões Van de Jaar 1749 tot Jaar 1753*. Manuscript: 1749-1753, p. 68-71.
- b. *Beilage zum Diario von St. Thomas vom Monat August 1755 - a) Etliche Cariolische Lieder*. Manuscript: 1755. p. 2-3.
- c. *Gebeden en Liederen voor die swart Broeder-Gemeenten na S. Thomas, S. Croix en S. Jan*. Unknown: 1765, p. 32-35.
- d. *PSALM-BECK voor die NEGER-GEMEENTEN na S. THOMAS, S. CROIX en S. JEAN*. Barby: 1774. p. 200-203.
- e. *Psalm-boek voor die tot die Evangelische broeder-Kerk behoorende neger-gemeenten na S. Croix, S. Thomas en S. Jan*. Barby: 1784.1784: 65-68

²¹ In 321 *na* is used, in 3231 the function of the preposition is integrated in the verb *krieg* 'to get', in the slightly changed constructions in 3232 and 3110 *voor* is used.

²² King James Bible online, Genesis 47: 20, d.d. September 12, 2014.

All examples are accompanied by possible source texts, which may also have been texts of inspiration.

G. German translation by German Lutheran Paul Gerhardt (1656)

E. English translation by John Gambold (1752), from 1739 on, influenced by Moravian Brethren.

In this example I only use the verses in which five versions are available. I also present some examples from the verses of which less than five variants exist. The critical apparatus follows the verses and shows differences and resemblances between the various versions. Remarks are made following the critical apparatus.

Stanza 1

Line 1.

- a. O Kop voll Wond en schieren
- b. O Hoofd voll Wond'n en Schwüiren
- c. Hoofd vol van Bloed en Wonden
- d. O Hoofd voll Bloed en Wonden
- e. O Hoofd! voll Bloed en Wonden,

G. O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,

E. O Head so full of bruises,

O a/b/d/e, – c

Kop a, Hoofd b/c/d/e, Haupt G

voll a/b/d/e, vol van c, Voll G, full E

Wond en schieren a/b, Bloed en Wonden c/d/e, Blut und Wunden G

Wond a, Wond'n b, Wonden c/d/e

schieren a, Schwüiren b, - c/d/e

- a/b, Bloed c/d/e

There is a remarkable difference between the two texts from the 1750s (a and b) and the rest of the texts. The earliest text used 'wound(s) and ulcers', while all other texts have 'blood and wounds'. Even the earliest English translation does not use this word. The appearance of *schieren* may point to Da. *sår* 'wound' or to Du. *zeer* 'wound' (dated).²³

The use of *kop* 'head (in general)' is more Creole than *hoofd* '(human) head'.

²³ WNT, s.v. ZEER II, 3, a 'wound', b. 'ulcer'.

Line 2.

- a. vol zmart en Pien en bloed
- b. voll Smert en Pien en Bloed,
- c. Vol Smert en Pin en Hoon;
- d. Voll Skimpi en groot Pien,
- e. Voll Skimpi, en groot Pien,

G. Voll Schmerz und voller Hohn,

E. So full of pain and scorn,

zmart a, Smert b/c, Skimpi d/e, Schmerz G

Pien en bloed a/b, Pin en Hoon c, groot Pien d/e, pain E

Note the use of initial *z* /*z*/ in a, which is uncommon in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Also notable is the appearance of *Hoon* ‘mockery/scorn’ in only one of the variants (c), which is changed into the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word *skimpi*, probably from verb *skimpeer* ‘upbraid’ (Hesseling (1905: 287) or ‘taunt’ (Du. *schimpen*). See also Stein & Van der Voort (1996: 79, 1154, s.v. *höhn*). See also the use of *Schimpfieren* in line 7 of this hymn. We also see the disappearance of similar sounding words of G. *Schmerz* ‘pain, grief’, respectively *zmart* and *Smert* ‘sorrow’.

Line 3.

- a. o Kopp voll gaat en swieren
- b. O Hoofd voll Gaat en Swieren
- c. O Hoofd, tot Spot ombonden
- d. O Hoofd voor Spott gebonden
- e. O Hoofd! voor Spot gebonden

G. O Haupt, zum Spott gebunden

E. Midst other sore abuses,

Kopp a, Hoofd b/c/d/e, Haupt G, voll gaat en swieren a/b, tot Spot ombonden c, voor Spot gebonden d/e, zum Spott gebonden G

The English source uses a different construction, namely *sore abuses*, which could possibly be semantically related to *gaat en Swieren* ‘holes and ulcers’. Variants c, d and e are directly related to the German source text.

Line 4.

- a. van dornen Stekkel hoet
- b. van Dornen steekel Hoet
- c. Met een skerp Steekel-Kroon;
- d. Met skerp Steekel-Kroon!
- e. Met een skerp Steekel-Kroon!

G. Mit einer Dornenkron',
E. Mock'd with a crown of thorn!

van a/b, met c/d/e, Mit G
dornen a/b, skerp c/d/e
Stekkel hoet a/b, Steekel-Kroon c/d/e

In all variants the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole word for 'thorn' *stekkel/steekel* (Stein & Van der Voort 1996: 59, 0521, s.v. *Dorn*) is used. However, in the two earliest versions the word *dornen* 'of thorns' is used as an adjective. According to Oldendorp, the Creole word for 'crown' is *kroon*. The use of *hoet* 'hat' (Stein & Van der Voort 1996: 79, 1175, s.v. *Hut*) is probably an indication for auditor design, since the meaning of 'crown' was simplified to 'something to wear on your head'.

Line 5.

- a. eer tit ka wees vol Zierat
- b. Eertit ka wees voll Zierad
- c. Hoofd, eertid ka omgeeven
- d. Hoofd, die ka blink navoor Tid
- e. O Hoofd, die ka blink Voortid

G O Haupt, sonst schön gezieret
E O hear, e'er now surrounded

- a/b/c/d/G/E, O e/G/E
eer tit a/b/c, navoor Tid d, Voortid e
ka wees a/b, ka omgeeven c, ka blink d/e, E surrounded
vol Zierat a/b, – c/d/e

Line 6.

- a. en Majesteet heel groot
- b. en Heerlykheyt heel groot
- c. Mee Majesteit van God,
- d. Met godlik Skien en Eer,
- e. Na godlik Skien en Eer,

G. Mit höchster Ehr' und Zier,
E. With brightest majesty,

en a/b, Mee c, Met d, Na e, Mit G
Majesteet a/c, Heerlykheyt b, godlike Skien d/e
heel groot a/b, van God c, en Eer d/e,

Both a and c show a relation to *majesty* in the English source text, while d and e resemble the German source by using the word *Eer* 'honor'. Both *met* and *mee* 'with' can be used in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole. Although *mee* is not used in

standard Dutch meaning ‘with’, it appears two times in the *Letters as Loot* corpus, both in letters from the Caribbean:

St. Eustatius, January 20th 1781:

ik heb Ued beloofd om coffi toe sturren **mee**
 I have you promised to coffee to send with
 De Erste Geleegentijd
 the first opportunity
 ‘I have promised you to send coffee at the first opportunity’

Curaçao, January 6th 1781:

(...) maar kosten het niet **mee** melkaar vinden
 (...) but could it not with each other find
 ‘however, we could not get along’

Line 7.

- a. nu jamerlijk schimpieret
- b. noe jammerlyk schuimpeeret
- c. Na die si Haar noe kleeven;
- d. Maar noe heel voll van Dood-Sweet,
- e. Maar noe voll Bloed- en Dood-Sweet,

G. Jetzt aber höchst schimpfieret:

E. In death now bow'd and wounded,

noe jamerlijk schimpieret a/b, [different] c/d/e, Jetzt aber höchst schimpfieret G

Na die si Haar noe kleeven c, [different] a/b/d/e

heel voll d, voll e, [different] a/b/c

van Dood-Sweet d, Bloed- en Dood-Sweet e, [different] a/b/c

As can be expected, since the hymn follows the melody, a change of words means that the number of syllables, the place of emphasis should be maintained. As a consequence of this, the original contents can be split into several verses. The focus on the auditors of this texts implied that the missionaries sometimes changed the text to connect better. See for instance the remark Böhner made in his letter of May 11th, 1773 about the length of the hymns and the subjects used.

Line 8.

- a. wellkom meet moeschi groet
- b. willkomm'n met moeschi Groet.
- c. Neem van ons moeschi Groet!
- d. Ons groet Joe moeschi keer!
- e. Ons groet Joe moeschi keer!

G. Gegrüßet sei'st du mir!
 E. Saluted be by me!

wellkom meet a, willkomm'n met b, Neem van ons c, [different] d/e
 moeschi groet a/b/c, [different] d/e
 Ons groet Joe moeschi keer! d/e

Stanza 4

Line 1

- a. Wat goed mi Heer ka drag hie
- b. Wat joe mi Heer ka drag hie
- c. Wagoed mi Heer ka draag hie,
- d. Noe, wat Joe ka draag, o Heer!
- e. O Heer! Joe Martel allgaar

G. Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet, (4)²⁴
 E. O Lord, what thee tormented, (2)

- a/b/c/e, Noe d, Nun G

Wat goed a, Wat b/d, Wagoed c, [different] e, Was G

Mi Heer ka drag hie a/b/c, Joe ka draag, o Heer d, [different] e, du, Herr, erduldet G
 [different] a/b/c/d, O Heer! Joe Martel allgaar e, O Lord, what thee tormented E

Variants e and E resemble each other. This might be interesting since e is from 1784 and English became much more influential in the Danish Antilles at the end of the eighteenth century.

Line 2

- a. Ka wees alleen mi goed
- b. ka wees alleen mi Goed
- c. Ka wees alleen mi goed;
- d. Die ben mi Sondo-Goed;
- e. Ben voor mi Sondo-Goed,

G. Ist alles meine Last;
 E. Was my sins, heavy load,

Ka wees a/b/c, Die ben d, Ben e
 alleen mi a/b/c, mi d, voor mi e
 goed a/b/c, Sondo-Goed d/e

None of the possible sources shows a the perfect tense which is present through the marker *ka* in variants a, b and c. The English texts uses the word *sins*, which is also present in the Creole word *Sondo-Goed* 'sin(ful) goods'

²⁴ The numbers between brackets indicate the number of the strophe in their original translation.

Line 3.

- a. di Schuld di mi ka maak hie
- b. die Schuuld di mi ka maek hie
- c. Die Skuld, die mi ka maak hie,
- d. Mi ka maak die Skuld allgaar,
- e. Joe ka betaal voor waarwaar

G. Ich hab' es selbst verschuldet,

E. I had the debt augmented,

O + relative clause a/b/c, SVO d/e

di Schuld a, die Schuuld b, Die Skuld c, die Skuld allgaar d, [different] e

Joe ka betaal voor waarwaar e, [different] a/b/c/d

Variant e differs a lot here. It is the only version using *joe* (2SG) instead of *mi* (1SG) and it does not refer to the *Schuld* 'debt'. However, in the following verse, the sentence becomes clear.

Line 4.

- a. joe ka betal meet Bloed
- b. joe ka betaald met Bloed
- c. Joe mee joe Dood ka boet;
- d. Joe ka betaal met Bloed.
- e. Mi Skulden, met Joe Bloed.

G. Was du getragen hast.

E. Which thou did'st pay in blood.

SVO(PP) a/b/d/e, SO(PP)V c

joe ka betal a/b/d, joe (PP) ka boet c, Mi Skulden e, pay E

meet a, met b/d/e, mee c

Bloed a/b/d/e, joe Dood c, blood E

Line 5.

- a. Kik hier mi staan mi pover
- b. Kik hie mi staen mi pover
- c. Kik hie mi staan mi pover!
- d. Kik mi aerm pover staan hie,
- e. Kik, mi aerm Sondaer staan hie,

G. Schau her, hier steh' ich Armer,

E. Here am I, blushing sinner,

Kik a/b/c/d/e, G Schau
 hier a, hie b/c/d/e, her G, Here E
 ADV S V attribute? a/b/c, S attribute V ADV d/e
 pover a/b/c, aerm pover d, aerm Sondaer e, Armer G, blushing sinner E

Line 6.

- a. joe Torn mi ka verdien
- b. joe Toorn mi ka verdien
- c. Mi ka verdien joe Toorn;
- d. Joe Straf mi ka verdien,
- e. Dood-Straf mi ka verdien;

G. Der Zorn verdienet hat;
 E. On whom wrath ought to light:

OSV a/b/d/e, SVO e
 Torn a/b/c, Straf d, Dood-Straf e, Zorn G
 ka verdien a/b/c/d/e, verdienet hat G

Line 7.

- a. maar gi mi Zaaligmaker
- b. Maer gi mi Saaligmaaker
- c. Neem over mi groot Jammer,
- d. Mi Jamer-Mann! draai na mi
- e. Mi Jamerman! kik na mi,

G. Gib mir, o mein Erbarmer,
 E. O thou, my health's beginner!

maar gi mi Zaaligmaker a/b, [different] c/d/e, Gib mir, o mein Erbarmer G
 Neem over mi groot Jammer c, [different] a/d/e
 Mi Jamer-Mann d/e, [different] a/b/c
 draai na mi d, kik na mi e, [different] a/b/c

Line 8.

- a. voor kik joe gnad alleen
- b. vor kik joe Gnad alleen.
- c. Laatstaan mi vind joe G'nad!
- d. Joe gnadevoll Aanskien!
- e. Met Joe Gnad'voll Aanskien!

G. Den Anblick deiner Gnad'!
 E. Let thy grace cheer my sight.

voor kik a/b, laatstaan mi vind c, [different] d/e
 joe gnad a/b/c, [different] d/e
 alleen a/b,— c, [different] d/e

Joe d, Met Joe e, [different] a/b/c
gnadevoll d, Gnad'voll e, [different] a/b/c

The two newest texts (d and e) differ from the three older ones and resemble G. *Den Anblick deiner Gnad!*.

20.ch11.2 *O! Planterman*

The hymn *O! Planterman* can be found in several publications. In Donnella (2007: 84-87) an analysis of the contents is presented. This hymn can be found in seven psalm books spanning a period of more than sixty years.

- a. 1770 Creol Psalm (Wold?) p.10-11
- b. 1770 Kingo, primer, p. 15²⁵
- c. before 1799 Brandt? nr. 5, p. 5-6²⁶
- d. 1799 Brandt, nr. 4, p. 3-4
- e. 1823 Brandt, nr. 5, p. 7
- f. 1827 Brandt, nr. 5, p. 6-7²⁷
- g. 1834 Creol Psalm Buk, nr. 5, p. 6-7

Stanza 1

Line 1

- a. O! Planterman,
- b. O! Planter-Man
- c. O! groote Godt!
- d. O! Planterman,
- e. O! Planterman,
- f. O! Planterman,
- g. O! Planterman,

Planterman a/b/d/e/f/g, groote Godt! e

Line 2

- a. Ju fraej en sutte Godt,
- b. Ju frei en sutto Got,
- c. Ju saej die Woordt si Saet
- d. Ju fraej en sutte Godt,
- e. Ju fraej en sutte Godt,
- f. Ju fraej en sutte Godt,
- g. Ju fraej en sutte Godt,

fraej a/d/e/f/g, frei b, saej c
en sutte Godt a/d/e/f/g, en sutto Got b, die Woordt si Saet c

²⁵ Both 1770 versions were already compared in DCT 1996: 197-199.

²⁶ See Van Rossem (2015, November 6)

²⁷ Brandt (1827) is not digitally available yet.

Variant b differs from all of the others because of its orthography of *frei* and the use of epenthetic vowel *o* in *sutto* 'sweet' which looks more Creole than *suttee* 'sweet', which resembles D. *zoete*.

Line 3

- a. Die alle Lant, en elke na sie Stant,
- b. Di alle Lan En elke na si Stan
- c. En elk een Volk ju rup door ju Gebodt
- d. Die alle Lant en elke na sie Stant
- e. Die alle Lant en elke na sie Stant
- f. Die alle Lant en elkeen na sie Stant
- g. Die alle Lant en elkeen na sie Stant

Lant a/b/d/e/f/g, Lan b, [different] es
 elke a/b/d/e, elkeen f/g, [different] c
 Stant a/d/e/f/g, Stan b, [different] c

It is interesting to see that variant b consequently omits the <t> /t/ at the word end. See Hesseling (1905: 75) about omission of final consonants.

Line 4.

- a. Rup door Ju Woort en G'bot;
- b. Rup door ju Voort en Gebot:
- c. Vor stap na die Waarheid-Pat
- d. Rup door ju, Woordt en Geboodt.
- e. Rup door ju Wordt en Geboodt.
- f. Ruep door ju Woordt en Gebot.
- g. Ruep door ju Woordt en Gebot.

Rup a/b/d/e, Ruep f/g, [different] c
 Woort a, Voort b, Woordt d/f/g, Wordt e, [different] c
 G'bot a, Gebot b/f/g, Geboodt d/e, [different] c

Although differences in orthography can be due to the moment and may not influence grammatical or lexical differences, I consider them interesting in indicating the influence of the translator's background. Both *u* and *ue* are used for the same sound, /y/. The different ways in which the words *Woort* (Dutch *woord* 'word') and *Gebot* (Dutch *gebod* 'command') are presented, gives information about the printing history. In the 1799 version both words were spelled with *oo*, even when the *o* in *gebod* sounds as /O/. In version e, version f is corrected, but the wrong way. In f and g we see the regular spelling of these words.

Line 5/6.

- a. Help mie, dat mie hoor Ju Rup En kom kluk,
- b. Help mi, da mi hoor ju Rup En kom klug,
- c. O! giev ju mi, Dat mi hoor ju Rup hie
- d. O! help ju mi, dat mi mut Hoor ju Rup
- e. O! help ju mi, dat mi mut Hoor ju Rup,
- f. O! help ju mie dat mie mut Hoor ju Ruep,
- g. O! help ju mie, dat mie mut Hoor ju Ruep,

- a/b, O! c/d/e/f/g

Help mie a/b, giev ju mi c, help ju mi d/e/f/g

hoor a/b/c, mut Hoor d/e/f/g

Rup a/b/c/d/e, Ruep f/g

En kom kluk a/b, – c/d/e/f/g

kluk a, klug b,

Two differences attract our attention. First the use of *giev* ‘to give’ while other texts use *help* ‘to help’. Second, we see the addition of the verb *mut* ‘must’ in the four newest texts. In these examples, I combined two verses from the hymn because the comparable sentences overlapped.

Line 7.

- a. Dat Ju krieg Sin na mie,
- b. Da ju krig Sin na mi,
- c. Dan mi krieg ju Welbehag,
- d. Dat ju krieg Sin na mi.
- e. Dat ju kreig Sin na mi.
- f. Dat ju krieg Sin na mie.
- g. Dat ju krieg Sin na mie

Dat a/d/e/f/g, Da b, Dan mi c

krieg a/b/c/d/f/g, kreig e

Sin na mie a/b/d/e/f/g, ju Welbehag c

Da in b points agains toward Creole. It can be interpreted as omission of –t or as the emphatic element *da* which can appear at the beginning of a sentence. The use of *kreig* in e may be significant since it resembles D. *krijg* ‘to get’, however, it is likely to be a printing error.

Line 8.

- a. Dat Ju ka koop mie vrie;
- b. Vant ju ka kop mi Fri:
- c. Wanneer mi [-*.....*]<ol.ieder> Dag
- d. Wanneer mi fraej en blie
- e. Wanneer mi fraej en blie
- f. Wanneer mi fraej en blie
- g. Wanneer mi fraej en blie

Dat a, Vant b, Wanneer c/d/e/f/g

Ju ka koop mie vrie a/b, mi ieder Dag c, mi fraej en blie d/e/f/g

Only variants a en b refer to the comparison of God to a planter, for which this hymn was known. See the use of Danish orthography in *Vant* (D. *want*) ‘because’. In other editions the use of initial /w/ is spelled as *w*.

Line 9.

- a. Stier mie loop na Ju Plantaj
- b. Stier mi lop na ju Plantaj,
- c. Volg ju Leering met groot Vliet
- d. Suk for due met moeglik Vliet
- e. Suk for due met moeglik Vliet
- f. Suk for due mit mooglik Vliet
- g. Suk for due mit mooglik Vliet

Stier mie loop na Ju Plantaj a/b, Volg ju Leering met groot Vliet c, Suk for due met moeglik Vliet d/e/f/g
moeglik d/e, mooglik f/g, [different] a/b/d

Like in line 8 the reference to God as a planter is only present in variants a and b. The use of the serial verb construction *stier mie loop* ‘send 1SG go’, which literally means ‘send me’, is remarkable.

Line 10.

- a. Daer for plant, for werk en saej,
- b. Da for plant, for verk en sai,
- c. Ju selv seegen sal mi Sweet
- d. Ju Geboodt na elkeen Tidt
- e. Ju Geboodt na elkeen Tit.
- f. Ju Geboodt na elkeen Tit.
- g. Ju Geboodt na elkeen Tit.

Daer for plant, for werk en saej a/b, Ju selv seegen sal mi Sweet c, Ju Geboodt na elkeen Tidt d/e/f/g

Daer a, Da b, [different] c/d/e/f/g

Tidt d, Tit e/f/g, [different] a/b/c

See the use of <v> for /w/ in b, which is Danish orthography.

Line 11.

- a. Breek mie Hart, as die bin taej.
- b. Brek mi Haert, as di bin tai.
- c. Ju Geest werk met mi altitt
- d. Ju self seegen sal mi Sweet.
- e. Ju self seegen sal mi Sweet.
- f. Ju selv seegen sal mie Sweet.
- g. Ju selv seegen sal mie Sweet.

Breek mie Hart, as die bin taej a/b, Ju Geest werk met mi altitt c, Ju self seegen sal mi Sweet d/e/f/g
self d/e, selv f/g, [different] a/b/c

Stanza 2.

Line 1.

- a. Wanneer Ju maer,
- b. Vaneer ju ma
- c. Wanneer ju maer
- d. Wanneer ju maer
- e. Wanneer ju maer
- f. Wanneer ju maer
- g. Wanneer ju maer

Again variant b looks more Creole than the other variants because of the omission of final consonant. It also has <v> for /w/ (Danish orthography).

Line 2.

- a. Self le partie die Loon;
- b. Self le deel yt di Loon,
- c. Selv le partie die Loon
- d. Self le partie die Loon;
- e. Self le partie die Loon;
- f. Self le partie die Loon;
- g. Self le partie die Loon;

partie a/c/d/e/f/g, deel yt b

Line 3.

- a. Ju denk op daer, mie Werk ka pasima,
- b. Denk mi op da Mi Verk ben passima;
- c. Ju denk op daer, mi Werk ka pasima,
- d. Ju denk op daer, mi Werk ka pasima;
- e. Ju denk op daer, mi Werk ka pasima;

- f. Ju denk op daer, mie Werk ka pasima;
- g. Ju denk op daer, mie Werk ka pasima;

Ju denk a/c/d/e/f/g, Denk mi a/c/d/e/f/g
 daer a/c/d/e/f/g, da a/c/d/e/f/g
 ka a/c/d/e/f/g, ben b

The use of ben in b, is interesting. Discussion about the Danish translators using a more Creole variant ka for perfective implied that ben was used more often by German missionaries and seemed to be quite Dutch. Kingo, who uses Creole features throughout the entire hymn, uses ben like the Moravian Brethren.

Line 4.

- a. Ju van Gnaede skenk Pardoon;
- b. Ju fan Gnade skenk Pardoon;
- c. Ju van Gnaede skenk Pardoon.
- d. Ju van Gnaede skenk Pardoon.
- e. Ju van Gnaede skenk Pardoon.
- f. Ju van Gnade skenk Pardoon.
- g. Ju van Gnade skenk Pardoon.

Line 5.

- a. Want, as mie kik, en le suk,
- b. Vant as mi kik, en le suk
- c. Want as mi suk
- d. Want as mi vrag, wat mi
- e. Want as mi vrag, wat mi
- f. Want als mie vraeg, wat mie
- g. Want als mie vraeg, wat mie

Want a, b/c/d/e/f/g Vant
 a/b kik, c -, d/e/f/g vrag
 a/b en le suk, c suk, d/e/f/g wat mi

Danish orthography of /w/, <v>, appears in b. Only variants a and b use DUR *le*.

Line 6.

- a. Na mie Dag-Buk,
- b. Na mi Dag-Buk,
- c. En kik na mi Dag-Buk,
- d. Ka doe hie?
- e. Ka doe hie?
- f. Ka due hie?
- g. Ka due hie?

a/b Na mie Dag-Buk, c En kik na mi Dag-Buk, d/e/f/g Ka doe hie?

Line 7.

- a. Wagut mie ka verdien,
- b. Va Gut mi ka ferdin
- c. Fraeg, wat mi ka verdien?
- d. Wagut mi ka verdien?
- e. Wagut mi ka verdien?
- f. Wagut mie ka verdien?
- g. Wagut mie ka verdien?

a/b/d/e/f/g -, c Fraeg,

a/d/e/f/g Wagut, b Va gut, c wat

The use of *Wagut* (D. wat goed) ‘what’ is more Creole than *wat* ‘what’, which only appears in c.

Line 8.

- a. Die no bin na Ju Sin;
- b. Di no bin na ju Sin:
- c. Mi mussi Qwaet sal vind.
- d. Die no bin na ju Sin;
- e. Die no bin na ju Sin;
- f. Die no bin na ju Sin;
- g. Die no bin na ju Sin;

a/b/d/e/f/g/ Die no bin na Ju Sin, c Mi mussi Qwaet sal vind

Line 9.

- a. Die maek Jesu denk op mie
- b. Di mak! Jesu denk op mi,
- c. Daarom, Jesu, denk op mi!
- d. Diemaek, Jesus! denk op mi;
- e. Diemaek, Jesus! denk op mi;
- f. Diemaek, Jesus! denk op mie;
- g. Diemaek, Jesus! denk op mie;

a/b/d/e/f/g/ Die maek, c Daarom

a/b Jesu, c Jesu, d/e/f/g Jesus!

Only c does not use the Creole word *diemaek* ‘therefore’, but D. *daarom*. In variants c/d/e/f/ and g Jesus is called. In a and b Jesu is subject of the sentence.

Line 10.

- a. Niet een gut mie hab voor krieg,
- b. Nit een Gut, mi ha for kri,
- c. Niet een Gut mi hab vor krieg
- d. Niet een gut mi hab for Krieg

- e. Niet een gut mi hab for Krieg
- f. Niet een gut mie hab for krieg
- g. Niet een gut mie hab for krieg

In variant b *ha* ‘have’ and *kri* ‘get’ lack the final consonants which are present in all other versions. This could be due to following the correct Creole pronunciation of these words, while *hab* and *krieg* reflect a etymological orthography.

Line 11.

- a. As Ju no le jammer mie.
- b. As ju no le jammer mi.
- c. As Ju no le jammer mi.
- d. Sonder ju le jammer mi.
- e. Sonder ju le jammer mi.
- f. Sonder ju le jammer mie.
- g. Sonder ju le jammer mie.

a/b/c As Ju no, d/e/f/g Sonder ju

Only the earliest variants show Creole preverbal negation *no*, while d, e, f and g show D. *sonder* ‘without’.

20.ch11.3 Gospel Harmony, section 13

This section in Lieberkühn (1769/1820) consists only of John 1: 19-28. I chose to only compare sections which can also literally be found in versions of the New Testaments.

- a. 321 (1773)²⁸
- b. 322 (before 1780)
- c. 315 (1781)
- d. 3231 (about 1790)
- e. 3232 (about 1795)
- f. 318 (1802)
- g. 3110 (1833)

Obvious orthographical differences between German/Dutch and Danish spelling are not indicated in the notes. Since the variation within the verses of the different text is great, I only focus on some items which are especially interesting. Further study of complete sections may reveal more information about used source texts, connection with Creole speaking audience and diachronic change.

- a. En die ben die Getuignis van Johannes, toen die Hodio sender a stier van Jerusalem Priesters en Leviten, dat sender a sall vrag em: wie joe ben?
- b. En die ben die Getiegnis van Johannes, die toen die Hodio a stier van Jerusalem Priesters en Leviten, dat sender a sal vrag em: Wie joe ben?

²⁸ See information about dating the Gospel Harmonies in chapter 5.

- c. En deese bin die Getiegnis van Johannes, dietit die Jooden ha ka stier van Jerusalem Priesters en Leviten, dat sellie ha sal vraeg hem: wie ju bin?
- d. En deese ben die Getugnis van Johannes, toen die Hodio sender a stier van Jerusalem (:sosome:) Priesters en Leviten, vor vraag em: Wie joe ben?
- e. En deese ben die Getugnis van Johannes, toen die Joden a stier van Jerusalem Priester en Leviten, dat sender a sal vraag em: Wie joe ben?
- f. En deese ben die Getugnis van Johannes, toen die Jooden a stier van Jerusalem Priesters en Leviten, dat sender a sal vraag em: Wie joe ben?
- g. En deese ben die Getugnis van Johannes, toen die Joden a stier van Jerusalem Priesters en Leviten, dat sender a sal vraag em: Wie joe ben?

E: And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou?

G: Und dis ist das Zeigniss Johannis, da die Juden sandten von Jerusalem Priester und Leviten, dass sie Ihn fragten: wer bist du?

a/b die ben, c/d/e/f/g deese ben
 a Getuignis, b/c Getiegnis, d/e/f/g Getugnis
 a/d/e/f/g toen die, b die toen die, c dietit die
 a/d Hodio sender, b Hodio, c/f Jooden e/g Joden
 a/b/ d/e/f/g a stier, c ha ka stier
 a/b/d/e/f/g Priesters en Leviten, e (:sosome:) Priesters en Leviten
 a/b/e/f/g dat sender a sall vraag em, c dat sellie ha sael vraeg hem, d vor vraag em
 a/b/d/e/f/g ben, c bin

Phonology: The differences between <ui>, <ie> and <u> in which we at least see a difference between /i./ <ie> and /9y/ <ui> and /y./ <u> shows the Creole unrounding, which points to Zeelandic dialect. Texts b and c show the most authentic Creole form.

Lexicon: Only c presents the Creole word *dietit* 'then', while all other texts have the Dutch-related form *toen*. Manuscript b shows a hybrid form: *die toen*.

Morphology: Only the manuscripts a and d show the Creole plural marking with pronoun of 3PL.

Syntax: The Danish translation c has the markers of both past and perfect tense (respectively *ha* and *ka*), while the German manuscripts only have *a* 'PST'.

- a. En em a beleyd en no a lochen, en a beleyd: Mi no ben Christus.
- b. En em a belei, en no a loogen en a belei: Mi no ben Christus.
- c. En hem ha beken, en no ha looken die; en ha beken: mie no bin Christus.
- d. En em a beleyd, en a loochen die niet, en em a beleyd: Mi no ben Christus.
- e. En em a beken en no a loochen, en em a beken: Mi no ben Christus.
- f. En em a beken, en no a loochen, en em a beken: *Mi* no ben Christus.
- g. En em a beken, en no a loochen, en em a beken: *Mi* no ben Christus.

E: And he confessed and denied not, but confessed, I am not the Christ.

G: Und er bekannte und leugnete nicht, und er bekannte: **Ich** bin nicht Christus,

a/d beleyd, b belei, c/e/f/g beken
 a/b/e/f/g no a lochen, c no a looken die, d a loochen die niet
 a lochen, b loogen, c looken, d/e/f/g loochen
 a/b/c en, d/e/f/g en em
 a/d beleyd, b belei, c/e/f/g beken

Phonology: Text b does not use final consonant in belei.

Lexicon: Only c, e, f and g have the Creole form *beken*, related to G. *bekennen* 'to confess, to profess'. The use of Dutch *beleyd* (>D. *belijden* 'to profess') in the early German translations is interesting as it is not present in the German source text.

Syntax: Text d is the only text which does not have a preverbal negation in the first part of the sentence. However in the second part all texts have this.

Layout: The emphasis on *Ich* by presenting it bold, is also present, though italic, in the two printed variants f and g.

- a. En sender a Vrag em: Wat dann? Ben joe Elias? Em a see: Mi no ben em. Ben joe die Prophet? <bm.5 B. Mos. 18, 15.> (die beloofde) En em a antwoord: Neen.
- b. En sender a vraag em: Wie dan? Ben joe Elia*s*? Em a see: Mi no ben em. Ben joe die Prophet? <bm.5 Mos. 18, 15.> En em a antwoord: Neen.
- c. En sellie ha vraeg hem: wie dan? ju bin Elias? hem ha seg: mie no bin; ju bin een Propheet? en hem ha antwoordt: Neen.
- d. En sender a vraag em: Wagoed dan? Ben joe Elias? em a see: Die mi no ben. Ben joe die Propheet? <bm.5. Mos. 18, 15> En em a antwoord: Neen.
- e. En sender a vraag em: Wat dan? Joe ben dan Elias? Em a see: Die mi no ben. Joe ben dan die Propheet? <bm.5 Mos.18, 15.> En em a antwoord: Neen.
- f. En sender a vraag em: Wat dan? Joe ben dan Elias? em a see: Die mi no ben. Joe ben dan die Propheet? En em a antwoord Neen.
- g. En sender a vraag em: Wat dan? Joe ben dan Elias? Em a see: Die mi no ben. Joe ben dan die Prophet? (* <bm.5 Mos 18: 15.>) En em a antwoord: Neen.

E: And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No.

G: Und sie fragten ihn: Was dann? Bist **du** Elias? Er sprach: Ich bins nicht. Bist **du** der Prophet *) <bm. S Mos. 18, 15.>? Und er antwortete: Nein.

a/b/d/e/f/g sender, c sellie
 a/e/f/g Wat, b/c Wie, d Wagoed
 a/b/d Ben joe, c joe bin, e/f/g Joe ben dan
 a/b Mi no ben em, c mi no bin, d/e/f/g Die mi no ben
 a/b/d Ben joe, c ju bin, e/f/g Joe ben
 a/b/d/e/f/g die, c een
 a/b/d/e/g <bm.5 B. Mos. 18, 15.>, c/f –
 a (die beloofde), b/c/d/e/f/g –

Lexicon: The Danish text c is the only one to use *sellie* '3pl' instead of *sender*. Although the source texts use G. *Was*, E. *What* 'what', texts b and c have interpreted the sentence and use *wie* 'who', which is likely to be of use for the auditors. Text d is the only one which uses the Creole form *wagoed*, which was still in use in the twentieth century.

Syntax: Creole word order in questions remains SVO. Texts a, b and d however use the Germanic VSO order. The answer shows another difference. The earliest texts a, b and c have an svo order, while the newest texts place the object 'Die' at the beginning to indicate emphasis, unlike the source texts do.

- a. Da sender a see tot em: wat benn joe dann? dat ons kan gie antwoort na die jeen, die a ka stier ons. Wat joe see van joe selv?
- b. Soo sender a see na em: Wat joe ben dan? dat ons kan gie antwoort na sender, die ka stier ons *.* wat joe see van joe selv?
- c. Soo sellie ha seg na hem: wat ju bin dan? dat ons kan antwoordt sender, di ka stier ons; wat ju seg van ju selv?
- d. Da sender a see na em: Wagoed joe ben dann? dat ons kan gie Antwoord na diejeen, die ka stier ons. Wagoed joe see van joe selv?
- e. Dan sender a see na em: Wat joe ben dan? dat ons kan gie een Antwoord na sender, die ka stier ons. Wat joe see van joe selv?
- f. Dan sender a see na em: Wat joe ben dan dat ons kan gie Antwoord na sender, die ka stier ons; wat joe see van joe selv?
- g. Dan sender a see na em: Wat joe ben dan? dat ons kan gie een Antwoord na sender, die ka stier ons. Wat joe see van joe selv?

E: Then said they unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us: What sayeth thou of thyself?

G: Da sprachen sie zu ihm: Was bist du dann? Dass wir Antwort geben denen, die uns gesandt haben. Was sagest du von dir selbst?

a/d Da, b/c Soo, e/f/g Dan
 a/b/d/e/f/g sender, c sellie
 a tot, b/c/d/e/f/g na
 a/b/c/e/f/g Wat, d Wagoed
 a benn joe, b/c/d/e/f/g joe ben
 a/b/d/f gie antwoort, c antwoordt, e/g gie een Antwoord
 a/d na die jeen, b/e/f/g na sender, c sender
 a a ka, b/c/d/e/f/g ka
 a/b/c/e/f/g Wat, d Wagoed

Lexicon: Only a and d use Creole *da*. Only a uses Dutch *tot* 'to', while all other texts have multipurpose preposition *na*. Only d has the Creole form *wagoed* 'what', two times. Two texts, a and d, seem to follow G. *denen* 'those': *na die jeen* (>D. *diegene* 'those'), while the others use Creole *sender* '3PL'.

Syntax: Only the oldest text has both past and perfect tense *a ka*, this combination is not present in the source text.

- a. Em a see: Mi ben een Stemm van een Predikand na die Weldnes: Maak die HEERe Si Pad fragi, soo as die Prophet Jesaias a ka see.
- b. Em a see: Mi ben een Stemm van een Preediker na die Weldnes: maak die Pad van die HEere recht; glik die Prophet Jesaias a ka see.
- c. Hem ha seg: mie bin een Stem van een Prediker na binne die Wusteine: maek die Pad van die Heer regt; glik als die Propheet Jesaias ka seg.
- d. Em a see: Mi ben die Stem van een, die le roep na die Wilderness: Maak die Pad van die Heere fraai; soo as die Propheet Jesaias ka see.
- e. Em a see: Mi ben een Stem van een Prediker in die Woestyne: Maak die Pad van die Heere gerad, soo as die Propheet Jesaias ka see.
- f. Em a see: Mi ben een Stem van een Prediker nabinne die Woestyne. Maak die Pad van die Heere recht, soo as die Propheet Jesaias ka see.
- g. Em a see: *Mi* ben een Stem van een Prediker in die Woestyne: Maak die Pad van die Heere gerad, soo as die Propheet Jesaias ka see.

E: He said, I *am* the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias (s <bm.Exod. xx. 3, 4, 5. Deut. vi. 13. x, 20.>).

G: Er sprach: **Ich** bin eine Stimme eines predigers in der Wüsten. Richtet den Weg des Herrn zu, wie der Prophet Jesaias gesagt hat.

a/b/c/e/f/g een, d die
 a Predikand, b/c/e/f/g Preediker, d een, die le roep
 a/b/d na, c/f na binne, e/g in
 a/b Weldnes, c/e/f/g Wusteine, d Wilderness
 a HEERe si Pad, b/c/d/e/f/g Pad van die Heere
 a/d fraai, b/c/f recht. e/g gerad
 a/d/e/f/g soo as. b glik. c glik als
 a/b a ka, c/d/e/f/g ka

Lexicon: b, c, e, f and g seem to follow G. *prediger*. Text a, however used *predikand* (>D. predikant 'clergyman'), while text d follows E. Unfortunately I do not know which source text was used by Magens (text c). It is unlikely that he used the German source text. A Danish bible used the same construction as in the E. source text, unlike c. Texts e and g use preposition *in*, while all other texts use Creole forms *na* and *na binne*.

- a. En die a a wees gestiart, sender a [*.*+]<w>ees van die Pharisaen;
- b. En sender, die a wees gestiart, a wees van die Phariseen:
- c. En sellie, die ha ka stier, ha wees van die Phariseewen.
- d. En diejeen, welk a wees gestiart, sender a wees van die Phariseen,
- e. En sender, die a wees gestiart, a wees van die Phariseen,
- f. En sender, die a wees gestiart, a wees van die Phariseen.
- g. En sender die a wees gestiart, a wees van die Phariseen,

E: And they which were sent were of the Pharisees.

G: Und die gesandt waren, die waren von den Pharisäern;

a die b/e/f/g sender, die c sellie, die, d diejeen welk
a/b/d/e/f/g a wees gestiert²⁹, c ha ka stier
a/d sender, b/c/d/e/f/g –
a/b/d/e/f/g Pharisagen, c Phariseewen³⁰

Lexicon: The use of *diejeen welk* ‘these who’ in d seems to point to E. *they which*.

Syntax: Only Danish variant c has the Creole perfect tense marker *ka*, while all Moravian texts use a Dutch-like construction of auxiliary *wees* and past participle *gestiert* ‘was send’.

- a. en sender a vraag em, en a see: vor\waarom joe [-j] doop dann, as joe no ben Christus, noch Elias, noch die Prophet?
- b. En sender a vraag em, en a see na em: Voorwaarom joe doop dan, as joe no ben Christus, ook niet Elias, ook niet die Prophet?
- c. En sellie ha vraag hem, en ha seg na hem: watmaek ju doop dan, als ju no bin die Christus, ook niet Elias, ook niet een Propheet?
- d. en a vraag em, en a see na em: Voor waarom joe doop dann, as joe no ben Christus, of die Elias, of die Propheet?
- e. en sender a vraag em en a see na em: Voorwaarom joe doop dan, as joe no ben Christus, ook niet Elias, ook niet die Propheet?
- f. En sender a vraag em, en a see na em: Voorwaarom joe doop dan, as joe no ben Christus, ook niet Elias, ook niet die Propheet?
- g. en sender a vraag em, en a see na em: Voorwaarom joe doop dan, as joe no ben Christus, ook niet Elias, ook niet die Propheet?

E: And they asked him, and said unto him, Why baptizes thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet.

G: und fragten ihn, und sprachen zu ihm: Warum taufest du dann, so **du** nicht Christus bist, noch Elias, noch der Prophet?

a/b/d/e/f/g sender, c sellie
a -, b/c/d/e/f/g na em
a/b/d/e/f/g vor\waarom, c watmaek
a/b/d/e/f/g as, c als
a/b/d/e/f/g Christus, c die Christus
a noch, b/c/e/f/g ook niet, d of
a/b/c/e/f/g Elias, d die Elias
a noch, b/c ook niet, d of
a/b/d/e/f/g die Prophet, c een Propheet

²⁹ The repetition of *a* (marker past tense) in 321 seems to me to be a clerical error.

³⁰ Could this be the only reference of *Zeeuwen* (people from the Dutch province of Zeeland) being the lexifiers of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole;)?

Lexicon: Magens' on the one hand shows a more Creole *watmaek* 'why' than the Moravian texts do, but on the other hand his use of *als* 'as' is more Dutch-like than the use of *as* in the Moravian texts.

- a. Johanes a antwoort na sender, en a see: Mi le doop met Water; maar Em le staan na meddel onder jender, die jender no kenn.
- b. Johannes a antwoord sender, en a see: Mi doop met Water; maar Em staan na meddel onder jender, die jender no kenn,
- c. Johannes ha antwoordt sender, en ha seg: mie doop mit Water; maer hem ha staen na middel onder jender, die jellie no ken.
- d. Johannes, a antwoord na sender, en a see: Mi le doop met Water; maar Em die jender no kenn, staan na Meddel onder jender.
- e. Johannes a antwoord na sender, en a see: Mi doop met Water; maar Em ka staan na die Middel onder jender, die jen-der no ken.
- f. Johannes a antwoord na sender, en a see: *Mi* doop met Water, maar *Em* ka staan na middel onder jender, die jender no ken.
- g. Johannes a antwoord na sender en a see: *Mi* doop met Water, maar *Em* ka staan na Middel onder jender, die *jender* no ken.

E: John answered them saying, I baptize with water: but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not:

G: Johannes antwortete ihnen und sprach: **Ich** taufe mit Wasser; aber Er ist mitten unter euch getreten, der **ihr** nicht kennen.

a/d/e/f/g na sender, b/c sender

a/d le doop, b/c/e/f/g doop

a/b/c/e/f/g Em, d Em, die jender no kenn³¹

a le staan, b/d staan, c ha staan, e/f/g ka staan

a/b/d meddel, c/f/g middel, e na die middel

a/b/d/e/f/g jender, c jellie

Syntax: The use of TMA-marker *le* 'HAB, DUR' in a and d *le doop* 'am baptizing' is note worthy. Whether this difference in use is due to insight into the use of TMA-markers is unclear. See for instance the variation between a *le staan* 'DUR, HAB stand', b/d *staan* 'stand, c *ha staan* 'PST stand' and e/f/g *ka staan* 'PRF stand'. Texts b/d have, alike E. present tense, while e/f/g have perfect tense, like the German source text.

- a. Die ben Em, die sal kom na aster mi, welk a ka wees voor mi, die si Skoe-Riem mi no ben weerdig vor loss die op.
- b. die ben Em, die sal kom aster mi, die a ka wees eerder as mi; en mi no ben waerdig vor loss die Band van si Skoen.
- c. Da hem, die sal kom aster mie, die ka wees eer mie; en mie no bin waerdig for los die Band van sie Skuenen.
- d. Em ben dieselvde, die sal kom aster mi, welk a wees eerder as mi, en mi no ben weerdig, voor loss Em die Riemen van si Skoen.

³¹ Subordinate clause next to antecedent, in contrary to other variants.

- e. Em ben die, welk sal kom aster mi, die a wees bevoor mi, en mi no ben waerdig vor loss Em die Riem van Si Skoen.
- f. Em ben die, die sal kom aster mi, die a wees bevoor mi, en mi no ben waerdig, vor loss Em die Riem van si Skoen.
- g. Em ben die, welk sal kom aster mi, die a wees bevoor mi, en mi no ben waerdig vor loss Em die Riem van si skoen.

E: He it is, who coming after me, is preferred before me, whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

G: Der ists, der nach mir kommen wird, welcher vor mir gewesen ist, dessen Schuhriemen aufzulösen ich nicht würdig bin.

a/b Die ben Em, c Da hem, d Em ben dieselvde, e/f/g Em ben die
a/b/c/d/f die, e/g welk
a/d welk, b/c/e/f/g die
a/b a ka, c ka, d/e/f/g a
a voor, b/d eerder as, c eer, e/f/g bevoor
a OSV, b/c/d/e/f/g SVO
a loss die op, b/c loss, d/e/f/g loss Em
a die sie Skoe-riem
b/c Band, d Riemen, e/f/g Riem
b/d/e/f/g Skoen, c Skuenen

Lexicon: See the use of *die* and *welk*.

Morphology: Only the Danish texts uses the Dutch-related plural suffix –en, while all other texts the singular version skoen ‘shoe’ is used. Originally the Dutch word for ‘shoe’ was *schoe*, PL *schoen*, which was still in use Dutch dialect in 1923 (WNT s.v. SCHOE). However the use of a singular noun meaning a plural is common in eighteenth century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

Syntax: The use of *Die* ‘that’ and *Em* ‘3SG’ in the early variants differs from that in the three newest texts. I do not think this is due to the difference of subject and object, but of referee design of the German source text *Der ists* ‘the one is it’, which resembles *Die ben Em*. Both *die* and *em* can be used in subject and object position. Like in earlier verses we see variation in the use of TMA-markers. While the source text shows a perfect tense, a/b have a *ka* ‘PST PRF’, c has *ka* ‘PRF’ and d/e/f/g/ have a ‘PST’.

- a. Die a geskied na Bethabara, na die ander Sie van die Jordan, na waar Johannes a doop.
- b. Die a geskied na Bethabara na die ander Sie van die Jordan, na daer Johanen a doop.
- c. Da ka geskiedt na Bethabara na die ander Kant van die Jordan, daer Johannes ha doop.
- d. Deese Saaken a geskied na Bethabara, over die Jordan, na waar Johannes a wees, [-en] <ol.en a> doop.

- e. Deese Dingen a geskied in Bethabara, na die ander Sie van die Jordan, waar Johannes a wees, en a doop.
- f. Deese Dingen a geskied in Bethabara, na die ander Sie van die Jordan, waar Johannes a doop.
- g. Deese Dingen a geskied in Bethabara, na die ander Sie van die Jordan, waar Johanes a wees, en a doop.

E: These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

G: Dis geschah zu Bethabara, jenseits des Jordans, da Johannes taufete.

a/b Die, c Da, d Deese Saaken, e/f/g Deese Dingen

a/b/d/e/f/g a, c ka

a/b/c/d na, e/f/g in

a/b/e/f/g na die ander Sie van, c na die ander Kant van, d over

a/d na waar, b na daer, c daer, e/f/g waar

a/b/c/f a doop, d/e/g a wees, en a doop

Lexicon: The oldest texts a/b/c/d use the Creole multipurpose preposition *na* 'NA', while the newest texts e/f/g use Dutch-related *in* 'in'. This change in using *na* also appears in the final clause of this sentence: only a/b/d use *na* in front of the adverb, while both Magens' c and Moravian e/f/g use the adverb without *na*. See chapter 8 about the change of use of prepositions.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Deel I Introductie

In 1996 verscheen van de hand van John McWhorter een recensie van *The Early Stages of Creolization* (Arends 1996). Hierin beschreef hij met behulp van een geksheerend voorbeeld hoe onbetrouwbaar taalcorpora kunnen zijn. Wat als het slechts snippers zijn met herinneringen van sprekers die de taal niet als moedertaal hadden? Ook anderen, zoals Sabino en Sprauve, gaven aan dat er in het geval van het achttiende-eeuwse Virgin Islands Dutch Creole zoals het opgeschreven was door, vooral, zendelingen, boekentaal was en niet direct aansloot op taal zoals deze tot ver in de twintigste eeuw gesproken werd door de nakomelingen van de tot slaaf gemaakten.

Volgens mij zijn er echter belangrijke argumenten om aan te nemen dat de teksten wel van waarde zijn, zelfs om de taal van de moedertaalsprekers van het Virgin Islands Dutch Creole te bespreken.

Deel II Methodologie en uitgangspunten

In dit deel ligt de nadruk op de aspecten van onderzoek die nodig zijn om de teksten op een heldere manier te kunnen onderzoeken.

In hoofdstuk 2, *Het coderen van de diplomatische editie van het Virgin Islands Dutch Creole corpus*, laat ik zien hoe het oorspronkelijke NEHOL-project was opgezet, tegen welke problemen we aanliepen op filologisch gebied en hoe we met behulp van een filologisch annotatiesysteem het digitale corpus konden verrijken, alsof het om een diplomatische editie zou gaan. Vandaar dat dit hoofdstuk ook uitgebreid geïllustreerd is met voorbeelden uit de meestgebruikte achttiende-eeuwse handschriften.

Hoofdstuk 3, *Demografie en taal*, lijkt enigszins los te staan van de andere, maar gaat zeker over een belangrijk uitgangspunt, namelijk over de vroegste taalsituatie op St. Thomas, dat vanaf 1672 door Denemarken als eerste van de Maagdeneilanden werd gekoloniseerd. In allerlei publicaties wordt aangegeven dat het Virgin Islands Dutch Creole heel duidelijk gekleurd is door de dialecten van Zeeland en West Vlaanderen. In de Nederlands Creoolse woordenschat is dit inderdaad goed te zien; echter een demografisch bewijs was tot nu toe niet uitgebreid geleverd. In dit hoofdstuk toon ik met behulp van volkstellingen, waarin plaatsen van herkomst en namen van de kolonisten opgenomen zijn, aan, dat kolonisten met een Nederlandse/Vlaamse achtergrond een flink contingent van de bevolking waren, dat veel van hen weliswaar oorspronkelijk Nederlands waren, maar afkomstig waren uit het Caribisch gebied, dat de numeriek verhouding kolonisten – tot slaaf gemaakten over het algemeen vrij gelijk was, waardoor waarschijnlijk onder de tot slaaf gemaakten de noodzaak bestond om Nederlands te leren. Daarnaast bestonden er met name op het oostelijk deel van St. Thomas plantages waar het aantal tot slaaf gemaakten het aantal, over het algemeen Nederlandse, kolonisten flink overtrof. Dit zo dan ook de plaats kunnen zijn waar er wel een contacttaal is ontstaan. De taalgemeenschap van St. Thomas was, op basis van deze cijfers, zo opgebouwd dat het gebruik van Nederlands, mogelijk duidelijk gekleurd met Zeeuwse en West-Vlaamse kenmerken, als lingua franca kan hebben gediend.

In hoofdstuk 4, *Onzekerheid en veranderingen in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole handschriften*, laat ik zien dat in de vroegste teksten aanpassingen en inconsequenties te vinden zijn die lijken te wijzen op het zoeken naar de juiste manier van opschrijven. Zo

lijkt men in eerste instantie Nederlands te willen schrijven, maar bevat de taal inconsequenties en verbeteringen die wijzen op Creoolse invloed. In latere, Creoolse, teksten, zijn bepaalde grammaticale elementen die in het latere Virgin Islands Dutch Creool verplicht zijn, zoals TMA-partikels, afwezig of worden inconsequent gebruikt vanwege een andere reden. Ik steun hier enorm op Stein (1985), die laat zien dat de Maagdeneilandse schrijvers pas taalelementen gebruikten als men zich bewust was van de grammaticale betekenis ervan.

Na de behandeling van het project, de vroegste stadia en de veranderingen in de oudste teksten, focus ik op metalinguistisch commentaar met betrekking tot het Nederlands op de Deense Antillen in het algemeen en als taal van de missie. In hoofdstuk 5, *Metalinguistisch commentaar*, presenteer ik bronnen waarin opmerkingen gemaakt worden over het wel of niet gebruiken van Creools in plaats van Nederlands tijdens de zending en over het juiste gebruik van de Creooltaal. Hiermee wil ik laten zien dat ook buiten de teksten, of binnen de teksten tussen de regels door, informatie gepresenteerd wordt over taal en taalgebruik, die voor beter begrip van de teksten zelf informatief is.

Hoofdstuk 6, *Audience Design Theory en de Deense Antillen*, beschrijft allereerst mijn interpretatie van Allan Bells Audience Design Model. Om te kunnen bestuderen hoe een schrijver/vertaler wil aansluiten op zijn publiek, moet er namelijk een helder beeld zijn van de samenstelling daarvan. Niet elke deelnemer aan de taalsituatie hoeft namelijk op dezelfde manier aangesproken te worden. Bell beschrijft helder hoe de **author**, in mijn geval de schrijver/vertaler van de Creoolse teksten, de stijl van zijn boodschap aan laat sluiten op groepen binnen het publiek.

Achtereenvolgens beschrijf ik Bells groepen en geef ik aan wie in de Maagdeneilandse situatie binnen deze groep hoort. Allereerst zijn er de **referees**, onder wie ik collega-vertalers, maar eigenlijk de vertaaltraditie van de Evangelische Broedergemeente, versta. De vertaler/schrijver probeert namelijk aan te sluiten op eerdere teksten, vergelijkbaar materiaal en aan de procedures binnen de zending. Zo is niet alleen de manier van vertalen hierdoor gekleurd, ook heeft de referee invloed op de volgorde van de te vertalen teksten. De author richt zich echter niet tot deze groep en dus plaats ik hem buiten het concentrische model. De meest nabije groep voor de author wordt gevormd door de **addressees**. De vertalers kennen hen bij naam en krijgen zelf feedback over het juiste taalgebruik. Op de Deense Antillen bestond deze groep uit de zogenaamde Helpers, de nakomelingen van tot slaaf gemaakten die binnen de gemeente een helpende rol hadden. De grootste groep is die van de **auditors**. Deze groep bestaat uit sprekers van het Nederlands Creools, echter, niet iedereen is ook moedertaalspreker. Binnen deze groep vinden we dus niet alleen tot slaaf gemaakten, maar bijvoorbeeld ook andere gemeenteleden. Hier haal ik het voorbeeld aan van het Kerksranan van Suriname, dat een variant van het Sranan is die gekleurd is door uitspraak en jargon van de Evangelische Broedergemeente, mede omdat ook de Europese zendelingen deze creooltaal moesten kunnen gebruiken. Buiten de auditors noem ik nog twee groepen die een veel kleinere rol spelen in dit boek. De **overhearers** vormen een groep die mogelijk fysiek aanwezig was op de momenten waarop de author zich tot het publiek richtte, echter, deze mensen vallen buiten de gemeente. De author kan zich tot deze groep richten door toelichting in hun moedertaal, Duits of Engels, te geven of door beleefdheidsvormen te gebruiken. Het publiek dat het verst van de author verwijderd is,

wordt gevormd door **eavesdroppers**. Dat een spreker rekening houdt met deze groep is hoogstens te zien door de keuze van niet controversiële onderwerpen in de teksten.

Na de voorgaande hoofdstukken kan de indruk ontstaan zijn dat aanpassingen van vertalers en andere schrijvers van VIDC teksten altijd aanpassingen om zo goed mogelijk aan te sluiten op het publiek. Dat is niet zo. In hoofdstuk 7, *Het schrijfproces*, gebruik ik een bekende beschrijving van de verschillende stadia in het schrijfproces. Binnen elke stap kunnen er fouten gemaakt worden. Deze echte schrijffouten worden ook gecorrigeerd en ik geef dan ook voorbeelden van situaties waarin er geen sprake is van een emendatie, maar van het werkelijk herstellen van een schrijffout.

Deel III: Zaakstudies: *Corpus achttiende-eeuwse Virgin Islands Nederlands Creoolse teksten*.

Hoofdstuk 8, *Verticale presentatie van alternatieven*, beschrijft een bijzondere manier waarop de vertalers en schrijvers in de handschriften alternatieven aanboden. Allereerst kon dat door het noemen van een synoniem of alternatief naast het oorspronkelijke woord. Echter, een unieke manier die we in met name de teksten van de vertaler Johann Böhner tegenkomen is de plaatsing van alternatieven boven elkaar. Hierbij is het de bedoeling dat de lezer zelf kiest welke vorm het best aansluit bij de situatie, oftewel het publiek. Ik schenk met name aandacht aan de verticale presentatie van alternatieve voorzetsels en vaste uitdrukkingen. Het lijkt erop dat oorspronkelijk Nederlandse voorzetsels geplaatst worden naast het breed te gebruiken Creoolse voorzetsel *na*.

In een beperkt aantal gevallen wordt de verandering van de woordvolgorde niet verkregen door doorhaling en toevoeging van woorden, maar door boven woorden getallen te plaatsen. Deze bespreek ik in hoofdstuk 9, *Woordvolgorde en getallen*. Wanneer de getallen in chronologische volgorde gezet worden, ontstaat een nieuwe, volgens de redacteur betere, woordvolgorde. In het materiaal zie ik dat deze woordvolgordeveranderingen vaak gerelateerd kunnen worden aan de eisen die uiteindelijk in een grammatica van de Evangelische Broedergemeente terecht zijn gekomen. Sommige veranderingen hebben overduidelijk te maken met de invloed van auditor design, bijvoorbeeld wanneer het gaat om de volgorde van onderwerp en persoonsvorm in de Creoolse zin, terwijl andere ingegeven zijn door volgorde uit de brontekst en dus binnen referee design horen.

Hoofdstuk 10, *Vervangingen*, laat situaties zien waarin een woord of woordgroep vervangen wordt door een ander. Dat kan gebeuren door overschrijving van de oorspronkelijke tekst, maar ook kan de oorspronkelijke tekst doorgehaald worden waarna een glos met de nieuwe tekst wordt toegevoegd. Verschillende vervangingen lijken te maken te hebben met de mogelijke bronteksten van deze Creoolse vertalingen. Zo lijkt bijvoorbeeld de eerste paragraaf van handschrift 326, de *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, in de oorspronkelijke tekst erg op de Duitse brontekst, maar na de vervangingen ontstaat een tekst die juist uit een Engelse brontekst lijkt te zijn vertaald.

Een groot voordeel van ons Clarin-NEHOL-corpus is de beschikbaarheid van verschillende varianten van dezelfde tekst. In het hoofdstuk 11, *Varianten bestuderen om aansluiting op het publiek te ontdekken*, laat ik zien van welke teksten meerdere varianten bestaan. Vervolgens vergelijk ik de varianten van drie Nederlands Creoolse teksten. De psalm ‘O hoofd vol bloed en wonden’ is overgeleverd in vijf versies van 1749/1753 tot 1784, en van de psalm ‘O Planterman’, dat in tegenstelling tot de andere tekst juist door Deense zendelingen is vertaald, bestaan er zeven versies die tussen 1770

en 1834 gepubliceerd zijn. Vergelijking van deze teksten, die natuurlijk wel gebonden waren aan een zangmelodie en een lettergrepenstructuur, laat Creoolse en Europese kenmerken zien die kunnen wijzen op aansluiting op auditors of juist op de referee. Van verschillende paragrafen uit de Evangelieharmonie is het ook mogelijk om soms wel zeven varianten te vergelijken. Ik gebruik voor alle vergelijkingen een traditioneel variantenapparaat, dat volgens mij, een helder beeld geeft van relatie tussen de teksten. De uitgebreide variantenapparaten van de complete zijn als bijlage in deze dissertatie te vinden.

De laatste manier van emendatie behandel ik in hoofdstuk 12, *Toevoegingen*. Hier gaat het om toevoegingen zonder dat er tekst is overschreven of doorgehaald. Deze toelichtingen wijzen duidelijk twee kanten op: auditors worden bediend door toevoegingen van Creoolse toelichtingen, synoniemen of omschrijvingen, terwijl de vertaler aan de andere kant juist toevoegingen plaatst met Christelijk jargon of verwijzingen naar gerelateerde bijbelteksten, die voor het publiek dat geen toegang had tot het fysieke handschrift overbodig zijn. Dit lijkt mij een helder voorbeeld van referee design dat bovendien ook teruggrijpt op de in hoofdstuk 5 genoemde educatieve waarde van het gebruik van Europees jargon voor de gekerstende tot slaaf gemaakten.

Deel IV: Twintigste-eeuwse bronnen

Niet alleen van achttiende-eeuwse teksten kunnen we de authenticiteit bestuderen. Uit het begin van de twintigste eeuw kennen we de verhalen en de woordenlijst die De Josselin de Jong tijdens zijn veldwerk in 1922-1923 verzamelde. Daarnaast heeft Nelson in 1936 tijdens veldwerk materiaal verzameld waarmee de laatste fases van het Nederlands Creools bestudeerd kan worden. Van beide bronnen bestudeer ik in dit deel de context.

In hoofdstuk 13, *Frank G. Nelson's Nederlands Creoolse woordenlijsten*, beschrijf ik hoe zijn woordenlijsten zijn samengesteld tijdens veldwerk door informatie uit zijn brieven aan met name Den Besten en mij. Door deze informatie zijn de uiteindelijke lijsten beter in hun context te plaatsen. De woordenlijsten zelf presenter ik in hoofdstuk 14, *De diplomatische editie van Frank Nelsons woordenlijsten*. Allereerst geef ik een diplomatische editie van de Reineckelijst, een samenvatting van Nelsons aantekeningen die door Reinecke ten behoeve van zijn dissertatie is gemaakt. De Nelsonlijst is de complete weergave van Nelsons aantekeningen zoals door hem vanuit zijn notitieboek overtypt zijn voor de redactie van *Die Creol Taal* (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996). Den Besten, die allebei de lijsten heeft bestudeerd en een uitgave ervan wilde voorbereiden, maakte een flink aantal aantekeningen bij deze lijsten. Deze aantekeningen zijn door Nelson becommentarieerd, maar ook zijn opmerkingen van Robin Sabino en Frans Hinskens opgenomen. Ik heb ze in noten bij de woordenlijsten geplaatst. De enige pagina van het notitieboekje die bekend is, wordt als laatste tekst gepresenteerd.

Tijdens zijn archeologisch/antropologische veldwerk op St. Thomas en St. John verzamelde De Josselin de Jong ook voorbeelden van Nederlands Creools. In hoofdstuk 15 *Het dagboek van De Josselin de Jong* beschrijf ik het taalkundige veldwerk op basis van zijn aantekeningen hierover. De Creoolse teksten zijn al in 1926 gepubliceerd, maar zijn dagboek aantekeningen voegen interessante metalinguïstische informatie toe over informanten, hun beschikbaarheid en betrouwbaarheid, de periode van onderzoek en de schriftelijke bronnen die hij ook kon inzien op de Maagdeneilanden.

De informatie van Nelson en De Josselin de Jong plaats ik in hoofdstuk 16, *Twintigste-eeuwse veldwerkaantekeningen in de context van audience design*. Ik toon aan dat de authenticiteit van dit twintigste-eeuwse materiaal ook kan worden bestudeerd door het te relateren aan de contactsituatie en de bedoeling van de veldwerkers.

Deel V: *Conclusie en literatuuropgave*

In hoofdstuk 17, *Slotopmerkingen*, ga ik eerst in op het gebruik van traditionele filologie om de authenticiteit van de achttiende-eeuwse Nederlands Creoolse teksten te onderzoeken. De aandachtspunten die in Deel III aan de orde komen: verticale presentatie, woordvolgordeverandering, vervangingen, tekstvergelijking en toevoegingen, zijn eigenlijk gekozen omdat de codering ervan opviel in het Clarin-NEHOL-corpus. Ze blijken echter nu al interessante resultaten op te leveren. Achtereenvolgens zien we bijvoorbeeld veranderend voorzetselgebruik door de keuze die door de vertaler aangeboden wordt. De woordvolgordeverandering met getallen laat zien dat de vertaler zich bewust is van verschil tussen woordvolgorde in de taal van de brontekst en die welke door het publiek wordt geaccepteerd. De vervangingen en toevoegingen laten zien dat de vertaler regelmatig de bedoeling had extra informatie te presenteren aan het Creoolsprekende publiek, de auditors. Ingewikkelde, christelijke, begrippen worden uitgelegd en vertaald naar het Creools. Aan de andere kant zien we hier ook aansluiting op de bronteksten en invoeging van christelijk jargon met als mogelijke bedoeling de nieuwe leden van de gemeente te onderwijzen in de juiste begrippen. Deze aansluiting op de referee is met name de oorzaak van het boekentaalkarakter van de achttiende-eeuwse teksten. Bestudering van deze verbeteringen lijkt ook informatie te geven over een verandering van de brontekst. Aan het eind van de achttiende lijkt het Engels namelijk van grotere invloed dan de Duitse brontekst.

De mogelijkheid van tekstvergelijking helpt op verschillende manieren het onderzoek naar achttiende- en vroeg-negentiende-eeuws Nederlands Creools. Allereerst zien we ook hier een mogelijke verandering van Duitse naar Engelse brontekst, die kan wijzen op de toenemende invloed van het Engels op de Deense Antillen. Daarnaast zien we een verandering van lexicale elementen of juist een overeenkomst tussen teksten van Deense en Duitse vertalers rond 1780.

Ook het gebruik van het Audience Design Model, in mijn geval in relatie met geschreven taal, en de hulp van metalinguïstisch commentaar komt aan de orde in de slotopmerkingen. De analyse van het publiek door het in Bells groepen te verdelen, helpt om de overwegingen van de schrijvers en vertalers te volgen.

In de laatste paragraaf van dit hoofdstuk beantwoord ik mijn onderzoeksvragen en geef ik suggesties voor verder onderzoek.

Curriculum Vitae

Cefas Gerardus Theodorus van Rossem was born on March 22th, 1965 in Nijmegen. In 1984 he graduated from the Vrije Atheneum in Paramaribo, Surinam. For one year he studied at the college of education IOL in Paramaribo. In 1991 he earned his Master's degree in Dutch language and literature at the Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, nowadays Radboud University, with a M.A. thesis in the field of History of Linguistics.

From 1991 until 1993 he worked in the Institute for General Linguistics of the University of Amsterdam, on the digitalization of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts for the NEHOL-corpus, financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research and the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1993 until 1995 he continued as associate researcher in the Dialectology department of the P.J. Meertens Institute in Amsterdam.

In 1997 he obtained his postgraduate teaching diploma in Dutch at Hogeschool Katholieke Leergangen, Tilburg. From this year on he works as a Dutch teacher in respectively vocational training centers and secondary schools.

In 2012 the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research granted him the Doctoral Grant for Teachers to work on the present thesis. For five years, two days a week, he worked on this project in the Languages in Contact group of the Linguistics Department, Center for Language Studies, of the Radboud University Nijmegen.

Currently Cefas van Rossem works as a Dutch teacher in the Olympus College Arnhem and as a guest researcher in the Meertens Institute on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.